

TAMI'S SECRETS: An Informer Inside the Mob

SPECIAL SECTION
1997
BATTLEGROUND ONTARIO

CANADA'S

WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

MAY 12, 1997

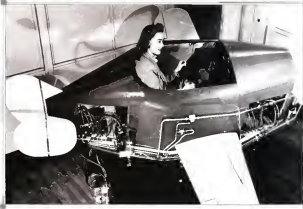
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Cover

14 Red River courage

As the flood of the century inundated southern Manitoba last week, spawning an unbroken inland sea on the Prairies, hundreds of farms were submerged, close to 25,000 fed their homes, and thousands pitched in to battle the raging waters



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Disaffected voters in Canada's most populous province will likely hold the key to electing forklifts when the country goes to the polls on June 2



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An informant infiltrates a brutal Vancouver cocaine-smuggling ring—and survives to blow the whistle on the mob



38 Blair's blowout

Tony Blair's Labour Party sweeps to power in Britain with a massive majority. The new prime minister portrays himself as a compassionate realist.

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From The Editor

The nobility of the people



The reaction of the party leaders was telling. For months, they had been gazing up their canals at assessments and policy handbooks. They were ready when the Prime Minister declared an election for June 2. And they all changed off to strong the

country their strategy books on their laps. The one thing they overlooked was Mother Nature and the people. The great Red River flood of 1997 threw them off guard. It was not something that the pollsters or pundits had predicted. There was no script; there was only a savage reality of people losing their homes and fighting to survive. Last week, the leaders struggled awkwardly to deal with the unfolding drama in southern Manitoba. Lately, they failed, managing to reduce instead the larger crowds of human suffering and courage as they jostled for partisan advantage.

The nobility belonged to the people on the ground, fighting the flood, house by house, sandbag by sandbag. In a world that supposedly has stopped caring, there was the humanism and spirit of people arriving, unannounced, to help someone build a new life around his property. In Winnipeg, Dan O'Rourke, a Kingston Crescent resident, described the living to Marissa's: "It's a very emotional thing, especially those first moments when

the first group of 100 or so people arrive at your door and start sandbagging" (page 14).

And the adversity—the other-applauding note was the genuine outpouring of concern by Canadians. Across the country, flood relief efforts to spring up spontaneously. One of the most moving was in Quebec's Saguenay region, devastated by last summer's floods. In Chicoutimi, CJA/R 234 morning man Martin Grenier, 30, opened his appeal with simple eloquence: "We've got to help them, because they helped us." By week's end, the station had raised more than \$10,000, part of the \$300,000 that the region contributed to the Manitoba flood relief effort for the rebuilding that lies ahead.

The larger lesson from last week was that Canadians rally to each other when the chips are down. It is ironic that it takes a natural tragedy to unite the country. Canada needs no more disasters like the Red River flood of 1997. But it certainly needs to preserve the spirit of compassion that it aroused in the hearts of its citizens.

Robert Lewis



Armed Forces building levee/dike; Canadian relief

Newsroom Notes:

Tracking the flood

Assistant Managing Editor Ann Dowsett Johnston joined Winnipeg in late April as the waters of the Red River roared north. "There was an eerie calm in the city," she said. "Images of Grand Forks were fresh in everyone's memory and people just wanted to know what they were going to confront." Back in Toronto last week, Dowsett Johnston



Ann Dowsett Johnston

wrote a piece about her personal experience, then organized this week's 10-page cover package, with reports from Manitoba by Senior Writer Barry Caine, Winnipeg correspondent Jake MacDonald and Acting Photo Bureau Chief Dale Ester. Photographer Phil Smith joined them in the flood zone.

Dowsett Johnston, who has overseen this annual university rankings for the past five years, had planned to spend the week with university officials. A three-time winner of National Magazine Awards, she also oversaw three of the 1996 projects

nominated for the May 23 awards: "Local heroes," a July 2 celebration of community action; a telling profile of Peter Gzowski by David MacIsaac; and the provocative "Is God a woman," for the article by Senior Writer Marie McDonald and for the cover art by Associate Art Director Gailie Sebanis.

Flood relief

Among the many efforts for Manitoba flood victims is one sponsored by the Royal Bank, in conjunction with Microlink's Rogers Multi-Media and Cariblast Global. The number to call is 1-800-769-2519.

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Abolish nurse Maria Gomez: frustration and disillusionment

Nursing and caring

Thank you for finally shedding an accurate light on the ongoing crisis in the nursing profession. ("The nurses," Cover, April 28). We are a highly skilled and highly specialized profession—one that carries an unbelievable number of responsibilities. We have been affected as a profession by health-care cuts more than any other—the crisis is escalating and if something is not done soon, we will reach our breaking point. Perhaps government should implement hiring freezes for physicians as well as putting them on salary rather than the current fee-for-service.

Joan E. Michalski
Nurse

As nurses we have suffered the rigors of displacement, layoff and the eroding distinction of careers and finally life, but ultimately, it is the patient who truly suffers the most. Progress: professional apathy and health-care decay. Compassionate, competent, caring.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Should be addressed to:
Maclean's Magazine Letters
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nurses don't know which road to take and are growing up on what used to be a valued profession in disgust and despair.

Margaret Kelly
Cambridge, Ont.

I have been a nurse educator for more than 20 years and have never, until the past three years, encountered so much frustration, disillusionment and fear on the part of nurses. Their concern is exactly as you state: nurses don't believe they are able to deliver the kind of care their patients require. There are too few of them, their patients are more seriously ill than ever before, and they worry constantly about providing safe care. You erred, however, in describing the level of education a registered nurse receives. Registered nurses prepared at the diploma level, study in programs that range from two to three years—not one or two—though few of these programs currently exist. The norm has become a four-year baccalaureate degree.

Roberta Goss
Professor of nursing
Athabasca University
Athabasca, Alta.

Police and informants

So let me get this straight, "John," who started to get in cocaine, and wanted to earn some extra pocket money, is upset because he isn't being kept in a style he has become accustomed to ("Drugs, death and death," Canada, April 28)? John decides to dance with the devil and is surprised he got hurt. How stupid does he think the taxpayers are? I will always call the RCMP first, when I am either in trouble or see a crime being committed, before I call a drug dealer. Horror for the RCMP. They have taken a hit quote of a life out of the flow of drugs into the country. If John hadn't been caught, would he still be pushing drugs?

Nora Greenfield
Calgary, Alta.

Perhaps the police did not play fair with "John," but he is conveniently ignoring the real reason that he is in his current predicament. He involved himself in selling

Where are the jobs?

Having worked in the software industry for well over 20 years, I have to conclude that if our "software firms are crying out for engineers" as claimed, then they are badly in need of special training ("Desperate for help," Business, April 21). Seasoned programmers, analysts and designers cannot find regular full-time work, and recent graduates are heading for software jobs in the United States where the economy is growing—and where U.S. companies are ready and willing to invest time, money and support in their work. Here in Canada, graduates often find that their rewarding careers in computer programming are limited to "coding" combo orders behind the counter of the local fast-food outlet.

Ronan Rogers
Kingston, Ont. K7K

drugs and if his share was \$500 for acting as the middleman, the deal must have been substantial. John has no one to blame but himself.

Phyllis Linkin
Saskatoon, Ont. S7N

Doesn't anyone else find it suspicious that the RCMP and local police can't seem to keep the identities of their informants secret? If members of our national and metropolitan police forces don't want informers to come forward with information, then they are doing a great job. Lately, it seems that if you help the RCMP you end up dead. If you help the local police, no one seems to be able to arrange up the money to protect you.

Donna McIntyre
Toronto, Ont.

Acupuncture context

To say someone specializes in acupuncture here makes as much sense as calling one a "prescription specialist" ("Alternative pressure," Health Monitor, April 28). There is a tremendous difference between Western practitioners, whose acupuncture is in adjunct to their practice, and practitioners of Chinese medicine. Anatomical/clinical acupuncture is similar to an aspirin: the pain is temporarily suppressed but the underlying problem remains. To be an acupuncturist involves the study, understanding and application of a systematic body of knowledge of traditional Chinese medicine. The practice of Chinese medicine: one of the modalities is acupuncture.

Maria Austin
Charlton, Ont.

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Trappings

I was unfazed to find that 42 per cent of respondents in France and 40 per cent of respondents in Germany "think that Canada treats native people badly" ("Canada and the World," Special Report, April 14). Can there be the same attitudes persisting for a far better, thus destroying an integral part of the Aboriginal income and, more importantly, their traditional way of life?

Carla Kross-Dewey,
North Bay, Ont.

Uganda's dark tale

I applaud George Seremba for bringing to light the problems of Uganda ("Delivered from evil," Theatre, April 7) in his dramatic interpretation of history. Cover *Good News* As a volunteer development worker in Uganda for the past year, I see daily the scars of what Seremba speaks. I work in the notorious Lwero Triangle, an area of central Uganda in which Yoweri Museveni finally disposed of Milton Obote. In the fields, I see the tanks, the mass graves and the bullet holes that scar local buildings and the no-sleep fear in the hearts of my neighbors.

Although one may appreciate the superb performance of Seremba's tale, one must remember that for the people of Uganda it is still a present-day tragic shadow.

Dennis Ashner
Melville, Uganda 26

Orthodox origins

The silent "Doon sects" does a disservice to your readers (Special Report, April 7). If a "tragedically deep world" exists in yamers it is not one that is usually evident to their families and friends. More than anything else, the time of joining a cult is usually called with a life transition such as leaving home. Cults can be distinguished from religions by the intensity of their indoctrination programs, the degree of manipulation of powers by leadership and the fact that devotion makes for significant choices is given over to leadership and cult ideology. For 15 years, until 1987, I was a member of one of the groups that "strongly reject any outside characterizations of them as cults." It will likely be missing individuals in the next federal election under the Natural Law Party. If Canadians had any idea how authoritarian the Transcendental Meditation organization

has been, it would probably have received many fewer than the 86,745 votes that it gathered in the last election.

Gordon C. White,
Salt Spring Island, B.C. 28

Signs of decay

Exchanges of disgust welled up in me as I read your review of the movie *Kluge* ("Death and the Maiden," Films, April 14). I find it inconceivable that any movie about such a vile sexual perversion as necrophilia could receive favorable reviews. If director Lynne Stopkewich is being deluged with letters from movie studios, it only demonstrates the moral bankruptcy of the film industry. Is there any example of a well-situated government-funded Canadian culture?

Roger Morrison,
Casper, Del.

Have reviewed the movies *Cash and Kismet* leave me yearning for the highest result, *Tarzan*. The plot would have this, a cinematic artifice is forced into a highly logical sequence, the exact billing, say, one-third of the people on board, all of them, at once, beautiful couples. The survivors would celebrate their good fortune with a happy round of sex. Then, as an act to overlook anyone, there would be a happy feast.

hate of sex with the non-survivors. At that point, *Tarzan* would really take off as all participants begin to realize their collaboration had left them incredibly hungry. Obviously, the only food available in quantity would be the late fellow passengers. As I imagine the scene, the necessary culinary preparation would be undertaken with sensitivity. With the wreckage of the plane as a fitting backdrop and the moonlight and the fire light creating the beautiful bodies of the celebrants with someone's past you can guarantee a box-office hit.

Wendal M. Japich,
Port Hope, Ont.

Where there's smoke

In reference to "Elbows flying in the smoking wars" (Cover, April 14), I write as a pipe smoker of 58 years who has spent the past 11 years gathering information regarding the hazards of passive smoking. The reports upon which the U.S. surgeon general based his assertion that passive tobacco smoke was a threat to nonsmokers are a collection of studies made over a period of years, not one of which could conclusively state passive smoke was a hazard. Throughout the years, the media have showered support on the anti-smoking activists and to my dismay, have done nothing to elicit facts and

bring reporting balance to the topic. There have been many pro-nonsmokers' studies and arguments that cannot be factually supported and would be a comfort to nonsmokers who feel the position of the anti-smoking crowd is more spirited and excessive. As for Garfield Mulrow, the bookkeeping executive director of the Nonsmokers Rights Association, I ask: how would you feel if some activist group began trespassing to ban locky activity for citizens past 40 because it might bring about injury?

John Cross,
Summerside, P.E.I.

Let me get this straight. Liberal MP John Heryns (Hamilton/Waterloo) is upset that Garfield Mulrow "fights dirty"? I am sure that the relatives of the three million Canadians who will die from smoking will thank he didn't fight dirty enough.

Paul Leacock,
Edmonton, 28

I am amazed that Toronto's baroque music scene ("The new culture") is now facing the same irrational banishing forces that American owners have left since Stan Campbell's B66 C-17. Judging Toronto as Justice Minister Allan Rock's area and knowing the media's predilection for bad news, I see the pro-gun-control lobby consisting of vocal, ardent Vancouverians. One city's irrational

response to a few well-publicized murders somehow becomes the answer to violent crime. Clearly, personal solutions to Toronto's problem aren't necessarily the most practical nor are they portable across the country. Smokers are fighting to keep their lungs, bar-revenue-producing posture, tobacco, I don't use tobacco, but I use gunpowder, maybe together we need efforts to combat the social engineers.

Dorey Blaney,
Regina

Canadian music

Aside from the notion that "branch Canada" record companies haven't the slightest interest in Canadian musicians, except for a handful of stars ("Heardst Incomers," Music, Feb. 10), Naxos has more than 30 CDs featuring Canadian performers, including Nathaniel Kraik (guitar), Jeffrey McFadden (guitar), and Aradia Baroque Ensemble (a Toronto group). We are just releasing *Deliverance* in Canada; that, the only survey of music by Canadian composers available on CD. In 1996 alone, Naxos sold more than 120,000 CDs featuring Canadian performers.

Ronald Ross,
Promotions and marketing manager,
Naxos of Canada,
Toronto



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Roger has no passport and no interest in getting one. He watched the election this past week in a bemused way. It will not change his life, although it will mean a few different faces on the telly. He was getting quite bored with seeing the same faces all the time—the Conservatives have been in power since he was 14 years old.

Those 187 years were ideologically intense (quite unlike Canada, where elections are more or less personal popularity contests). For 18 years, Britain has been led by radical Thatcherites, even during John Major's watered-down version. Today, Britain has the best economy in Europe, the lowest unemployment and inflation rates, the highest inward investment. Foreign glossy magazines are running stories on Swedish Lou-

When you get up in the morning, you're economically still in an environment changing government in a no-holds-barred. It's time to give the other side a chance. That's crickets. Few people are old enough to remember what Labour was like in the 1970s (road munnings and dead sheep's stances about bread strikes and dead bodies piled up in the street where the grave diggers wouldn't work) are taken as clear exasperation and, anyway, this is New Labour. Tony Blair promises he will not undo any of the things that the Conservatives did. He will put by vengeance, insipid, more laparoscopic. He is a new kind of minimalist that instead of less covers and antismosses. Switch back without making any ideas. Change your world without anything as traumatic as a government, or home, or culture, or food. It's right?

But here are the worrying points. First, though the British have woken up to the dangers of continuing further political and economic integration with a Europe run by bureaucrats with socialist and socialist ideas, in electing Labour they have elected a government that has pledged to do just that: namely, sign up to the European Union's Social Chapter. At least, that's what Mr. Blair said he is

Secondly, while New Labour may seem given up on the hammer and sickle and the singing of *The Internationale* (which was still a feature of its party conference only five years ago), it remains the party of political correctness and social regulation. This is the world where Nancy Kavanagh lost. Last week, teachers at one state school were banned from using red ink when marking pupils' work because red is a "negative color." Explained psychologist Penny Colles, "Red is a terribly aggressive color," which endears danger and male dominance. Teachers, it is now reported in the

History and common sense have shown that socialism's economic schemes are an afterthought, but the Labour Party did believe social engineering such as state-regulated child care, abolition of independent schools, reform of trade union power, massive public housing, the end of the internal market reforms of the health system and endless state-work projects for the young. Pledged not to raise income taxes, Labour will have to find money to fund such schemes and the likely targets are a wealth tax, inheritance taxes, windfall taxes and all the sort of schemes that drive money straight out of the country.

All this is not only bad news for the British, it's bad news for Europe. Last week, 15 small French businesses said they were planning to move to Britain to escape the horrendous costs of the Social Chapter and French taxes. Britain is already home to many German companies that find their country's abstruse costs. *Alas, l'un de ces Riveros may now become l'un or change, l'un c'est le même chose*.

In electing a Labour government, the British have chosen the party of political correctness and social regulation



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Opening Notes

Edited by BARBARA WITKINIS

Bunking the Cabot crowd

When Anglo-Irish explorer John Cabot spotted land in 1497, he is said to have cried out, "O Canada!" (Oh happy sight!). Five hundred years later, aptly named Bonaville, Nfld., is sprucing up for the June 24 re-enactment of the landfall of Cabot's ship, the Matthew, and for the arrival of Queen Elizabeth II, Prince Philip and a crash of tourists. There is just one problem: where does a town of 4,500 put up 30,000 guests? The re-enactment takes a helicopter back to Severn days in St. John's, a three-hour trip by car for some corporate folk. But these visitors who want to stay in Bonaville for its June 23 to 26 program—which includes art and antique car shows, performances by the Celtic band Irish Descendants and the folk group Great Big Sea, and a Newfoundland Kitchen Party, a traditional gathering of folks in the kitchen to play music—will have difficulty finding shelter. The 36 rooms in Bonaville's one mo-



St. John's

tel are already fully booked, as are the town's few bed-and-breakfasts. Says event manager Brent Moske, "You could pull your hair out all day and argue out about the accommodation crunch." But that's not the only problem: it's a province that knows how to throw a party. Instead, organizers are simply asking visitors to bring a tent or trailer. Moske says 800 temporary campers, as well as 120 permanent sites, are booked through the tourism office. That still leaves room for a lot of unhappy campers. Those who do land a campground pass may be moved to extra Cabot by declaring, "Oh happy site!"

Gay redemption

Even before his official release this week, *The Prisoner Experience* has earned quite a buzz. Its author, after all, is Elphinstone Cameron, a respected English professor at the University of Toronto and award-winning biographer, and it's not every day that someone in her position is so forthright. Not only does Cameron, 54, describe in vivid detail how she fell in love with a woman—her lover is Janet Dickinson, 50, an other well-known academic (she teaches Canadian studies and law at the University of Calgary), with whom she now lives part time—but Cameron also writes about the discrimination of her troubled third marriage, to York University history professor Paul Lovejoy. An increasingly familiar tale of the times.

Cameron: from martyr to love lesbian love



STYLING: JILL KAPLAN

BEST-SELLERS

FICTION

1. *The Wife, Myself, Myself* (2)
2. *And of Her, Myself, Myself* (2)
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40. *And of Her, Myself, Myself* (2)

Slow off the mark

Canadian Donouat Bailey and American Michael Johnson may be set to blast out of the blocks on June 1, in a 250-m match race in Toronto, but the organizers of the \$1-million sprint race have a lot to get going to get to speed. To accommodate requests from various media, for instance, the promoters, Draw-based Magellan Entertainment Group, hastily organized press days at the sprinters' training centres last week in Texas. But many news outlets claimed they were not notified, while others declined because of the short notice and exorbitant airfares. As a result, only 11 reporters, photographers and cameramen attended Bailey's session in Austin—where a meeting room had been set up for more than 70—and the same number showed up two days later in Dallas to meet Johnson. Magellan president John Bollen expressed surprise at the dismal turnout, saying dozens of reporters had requested credentials. The sprinters' representatives were not amused. The runners had planned only one media day before arriving in Toronto, but they may each have to schedule more because



Bailey, Johnson press days without reporters from major U.S. media outlets

none of the major U.S. media outlets attended. "I mean, where was USA Today, the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, the *New York Times*?" asked one of Johnson's frustrated representatives. "It's a joke."

Bre-X, the books

The title of the collapse of Bre-X Minerals Ltd.—the tiny Calgary mining company that may have unearthed one of the largest gold deposits in history in the jungles of Indonesia—is an intriguing as any mystery novel. So it seems fitting that as fewer than three writers—Maclean's National Business Correspondent Jennifer Miller, *Maclean's*

Paul editor Diane Francis and *Canadian Business* senior writer Brian Hutchinson—are all writing books on the real-life rise and fall of Bre-X, Hutchinson has also optioned his book to Toronto's Alliance Communications Corp. And various periods that a team of writers at *The Globe and Mail*, as well as an award-winning *Newsweek* American writer may also be trying to mine the same vein. That has analysts wondering if the

market for the story will be as carved up that no one will make much money. Carol Tait, news editor of the publishing industry bible *Quill & Quire*, says the leadership for the story behind the corruption of one killer Paul Bernardi was similarly split when it first broke appeared. Publishers have learned, she adds, that in a crowded field, the first book out will almost always do better. The race for gold is on.

Quebec illuminated

With its old-world charm, Quebec City has long been one of North America's top tourist destinations. But a project now under review may one day shed a whole new light on the city's attractions. In late April, a delegation of seven officials from three levels of government, as well as from Hydro-Québec and Quebec's National Capital Commission, spent a week in Lyon, France, studying its ancient, \$15-million urban lighting system. In the early 1980s, French architect Alain Gauthier devised a plan to illuminate more than 250 of the ancient city's restricted buildings and bridges on a rotating schedule with daylight-length lights. According to at least one of the recently returned delegates, Lyon's nightly light show could—and should—be repeated in Quebec City. "We're a northern city that's dark by 4 p.m. In the winter," says commission spokesman Denis Angers. "Imagine if we really lit up the streets, buildings and fortified walls in the old part of the city. It would add a completely new seasonal charm." It would also, Angers hopes, entice tourists to stay longer. "We're excited to think about the possibilities."

All about flying saucers

Others after Palmaro Campaigne, who wrote *Stories of Conspiracy: The Secret Area Arise* Palmaro Campaigne, who wrote *Stories of Conspiracy: The Secret Area Arise* Palmaro Campaigne, who wrote *Stories of Conspiracy: The Secret Area Arise*

POP MOVIES

More than car trouble

The surprise thriller *Breakdown* plays off the premise of having one car break down on a back road in the middle of nowhere. When 30-year-old couple, Jeff (Kurt Russell) and Amy (Sofia Milonoff) Taylor, are stranded in the desert in the Amazon Southwest, the result is terrifying.

Top critics in Canada, including *Examiner* critic, have given the movie a 3.5 (on a scale of 1 to 5) (see critics' reviews on page 10)

1. <i>Breakdown</i> (1997) (R)	\$1,120,000
2. <i>Life Is Beautiful</i> (1997) (PG)	\$770,000
3. <i>And of Her, Myself, Myself</i> (1997) (PG)	\$770,000
4. <i>The Year (1997)</i> (R)	\$697,000
5. <i>Write Me (1997)</i> (PG)	\$627,000
6. <i>And of Her, Myself, Myself</i> (1997) (PG)	\$627,000
7. <i>And of Her, Myself, Myself</i> (1997) (PG)	\$627,000
8. <i>The Year (1997)</i> (R)	\$627,000
9. <i>And of Her, Myself, Myself</i> (1997) (PG)	\$627,000
10. <i>The Year (1997)</i> (R)	\$627,000

Source: National Business Correspondent Jennifer Miller, *Maclean's*

Passages



DIED: Bay Street financier and philanthropist Andrew Surles, 65, of heart failure, in Toronto (page 50). Born in Budapest, Surles fled when Soviet tanks quashed Hungary's 1956 rebellion. Surles, who had an economics degree from the University of Budapest, arrived in Canada in 1961, in 1967, but soon landed a position with the engineering firm Bechtel Canada. Then, in 1970, as head of Acres Ltd.'s merchant banking group, he began making the strategic plays into stock markets for which he became famous. Striking out on his own in the early 1970s, Surles secured up \$200 million through his merchant company, HCI Holdings Ltd. It nearly went bankrupt in the 1982 recession, but under Surles, Surles paid his debts and rebuilt his fortune. When the Barle Wall fell in 1989, Surles founded the First Hungarian Fund, a venture capital enterprise that is fueling many Hungarian businesses.

RULED: That paranoid schizophrenic Jeffrey Amberg, 40, was not criminally responsible for the 1995 shooting death of Ottawa postcarder *Brian Smith*, 54, by an Ottawa court. Amberg will undergo further assessment to determine sentencing.

WONDERING: Whether Canadians coach Wayne Tremain, 40, three days after the New Jersey Devils eliminated his team from the Stanley Cup playoffs.

DIED: Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist Mike Rayko, 64, of The Chicago Tribune, after suffering an aneurysm, in Chicago.

RESIGNING: Justice John MacGillivray, 73, from his 1993 judicial appointment to the United Nations' International Tribunal on War Crimes in former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, for undisclosed health reasons.

AWARDED: The Commonwealth Writers best first book prize to Canadian author Anne-Marie MacDonald, 38, for her last novel, *For the Love of Money*, in London.

SUSPENDED: Buffalo Sabres star goaltender Dominik Haase, 32, for three games, by the NHL, after having attacked a Buffalo Braves reporter critical of his actions, in New York City.

RED RIVER COURAGE



A triumph of heart and spirit in Manitoba

BY BARRY CAHILL

Ron Isaac's dark red pickup is parked at the end of a narrow country lane, right at the point where the road's grey surface disappears beneath the wind-swept waves of a coffee-colored sea. Inside the truck's cab, the 62-year-old Manitoba farmer and seed-grain dealer points towards a distant clump of trees, one of a dozen similar isolated islands of greenery rising from the roiling waters. "That's my place over there on what used to be the south bank of the Red River," he says, matter-of-factly. "My seed bins are gone, water's up to the main floor around the house." He thumbs the frame of a battered baseball cap from his brow, leans an elbow on the steering wheel. "You know, I've lived in this valley since I was a boy, fought all the big floods," he continues, ticking off the particularly bad years—1930, 1966, 1979, 1996—on the fingers of one hand, sagged in a lifetime of struggle with the implacable power of the Red River and its many tributaries. "I thought I'd seen everything that old river could throw at me. But



this one," he sighs, giving his head a single, dry shake. "This one has been the great-granddaddy of them all."

The flood of the century, they have been calling it in Manitoba, an aversive demonstration of nature's raw might. In its relentless march northwest, it opened an enormous inland sea, a 2,000-square-kilometre fan of murky water stretching all the way from the United States border, 130 km north to the southern suburbs of Winnipeg. The Red flowed over 800 farms, inundating some of the richest soil in the country and affecting 10 of Manitoba's 14 federal ridings. Close to 25,000 residents fled their homes for higher ground, 8,000 of them in the provincial capital. A vast assemblage of machinery and a huge army have been mobilized to fight the incursion, ousting thousands of civilians as well as 8,800 soldiers, sailors and airmen from the Canadian Forces—three times the combined strength of the country's United Nations peacekeepers in Bosnia, Haiti and the Golan Heights.

In fact, this is the country's largest single military endeavor since the Korean conflict. And last week, as the flood crept ever closer to Winnipeg, all of the marshalled forces battled fruitlessly to keep the rising waters out of the capital. "It's a war," said Lt.-Col. Steve Delors of the Royal Canadian Horse Artillery as he directed the work of 600 troops under his command southwest of

the city. "The enemy is at the gates. We cannot let him enter."

By Saturday evening, that mission was largely accomplished. As the Red's crest finally rolled into Winnipeg late last Thursday, May 1, the city's defences crumbled a little, springing an isolated leak or two, but in the end they held. The already swollen river rose a foot Thursday night, climbing to 24.6 feet above the winter ice level, enough to barely brush some of the city's bridges. Not enough, however, to spill over the city's 200 km of primary dikes, a 26.5-foot-high system of raised ripraped roads, parks, embankments and railroad tracks. "Today is looking good," breathed a relieved Winnipeg Mayor Susan Thompson as she arrived in her office on Friday morning. "What happened in the past 24 hours is a pretty positive development."

For that narrow escape, the city's 650,000 residents owe a large vote of thanks to the Red River Floodway. Completed in 1984, the 47-km-long water diversion was widely derided as "Duff's Duck" when former Manitoba Premier Duff Roblin authorized its construction. But last week, as the Red's crest was swelling 75,000 cubic feet of water every second through the heart of the city, the Floodway sent another 60,000 cubic feet per second cascading east of the city. To be sure, there were worries expressed by residents north of Winnipeg as they watched the Red's waters boil furiously

■ Flooding near Rossmore, riding on over Niverville (above): close to 25,000 fled for higher ground



Sandbaggers backing out in Winnipeg: a huge army of civilians mobilized to fight the menace of the Red

COVER

out of the floodway's exit, increasing the odds of severe flooding on the city's northern fingers. Their concerns echoed the complaints of flood victims south of the city in such unprotected communities as St. Agathe and Grande Prairie, where some residents felt they had been abandoned to some Winnipeg. "There's no clock in my mind we're being sacrificed," said Grande Prairie resident Claude Lamont, exhausted after a night of futile dike construction. But there could be no doubt that Duff's once notorious dike played the key role in saving Manitoba's capital from untold disaster.

Despite the reprieve, the danger has not yet completely passed. "We've still got another week of white-knuckle time," Manitoba Premier Gary Filmon, a hydraulic engineer himself, told Manitobans. The peril lies in several directions. In the first place, the Red's high water is not going to let up for some time. "This crest is going to stay up there for the next four or five days," cautioned Larry Whitney, Manitoba's chief flood liaison officer, on May 21 even when it does finally ease on, elevated water levels will likely persist in Winnipeg for at least two or three more weeks, all the time eating away at the city's extensive network of dikes.

Especially vulnerable are the secondary dikes that have been hastily constructed inside the fortified ring road all over the city by hundreds of civilian volunteers, often working around the clock, and in the past few days by soldiers drawn from units right across the country. Most of these are gladiators' affairs, fashioned from the Red River Valley's viscous sand and reinforced with roughly eight million sandbags—see photographs on right that local residents have now taken to labelling the sand-filled white plastic sacks "Red River people." Noted Winnipeg's chief flood engineer Doug McNeil: "All sandbagged dikes leak at some point, and the longer the river remains high, the greater the chances of a leak."

To counter the threat, the city has formed two shifts of 35 teams

to continually monitor the secondary dikes. But there have already been disastrous leaks on the system. On the day the Red's crest rolled into Winnipeg, there were nine complete failures, resulting in the evacuation of dozens of families from threatened homes, including three apartment buildings in the downtown core.

Outside at Winnipeg, there is another potential peril lying to the southwest along the newly built Brunkild dike, sometimes called the Z-dike for its zigzagging 40-km route, from the point where the Red enters Winnipeg to the tiny hamlet of Brunkild. The dike, an eight-metre-high wall of sand and crushed rock, was hastily erected in the past three weeks to prevent the Red from making an end run around Winnipeg's southern defenses. Manitoba authorities fear the river's crest might swing west once it runs into the Winnipeg choke point, flowing first into La Salle River, then coursing down the La Salle Valley to inundate the capital from the west. By itself, the Brunkild dike is an impressive sight. "It's a bloody engineering marvel that I think people around here are going to remember for a long time," said Gillies of the Horse Artillery as his troops struggled in bitterly cold 40 km/h winds, splitting erosion-resistant plastic sheeting along the dike's entire length.

By the end of last week, the Red's backing crest, two metres deep in places, was lagging at the foot of the Brunkild dike. But the worst was yet to come. Provincial water resource managers expect high water to hit the dike early this week, when forecast rainfall and surges by winds, gusting up to 40 km/h, could exacerbate the situation. One—or several—major breaches in the barrier might well spell trouble for Winnipeg's southern suburbs, especially the 4,800 residents of the bedroom community of St. Norbert.

Lying just beyond the perimeter highway that rings Winnipeg is itself a primary dike, St. Norbert runs directly in the path of any floodwater that would flow from a breach in the Brunkild dike. To

protect residents from that possibility, Manitoba's authorities ordered the complete evacuation of the community last Tuesday. Early that morning, to police and soldiers set up roadblocks to oversee the pallid volunteers applied laborious touches to a sandbagged dike around St. Norbert church, the same church where Father N. J. Ritchie and Louis Red met on the night of Dec. 21, 1989, to launch the rebellion that led eventually to the founding of Manitoba. A few blocks away, Red's great-grandfather Joseph Red, his wife Joanne, and his mother, Marie, were packing up their belongings. "Last week, we volunteered to help out at St. Agathe," said Joseph, a 37-year-old salesman. "We never dreamed that pretty soon they'd be volunteering to help us." His mother, peeking out that the family has been fighting Red River flooding for many generations, added, "But there had been nothing of the magnitude of this flood. When you see what happened in St. Agathe, it just gives you a chill."

St. Agathe, 24 km due south of Winnipeg, met its fate in the early hours of Tuesday morning. The town of 500, which sits on the west bank of the Red, was protected by a dike running along the river's edge. But it was overcome by a wall of water that rushed in from the opposite direction. Propelled by



George Richardson's estate from the sea an enormous inland sea of murky water



Red packing up: vehicles buttressing the Brunkild dike, adjusting the downstream on a ring dike (below): The great-probability of them off

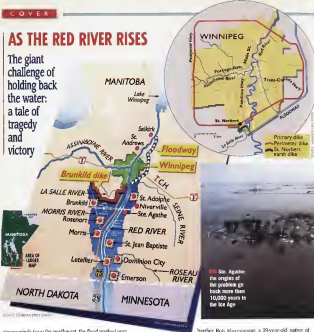
SORRY, WRONG NUMBER

Hundreds of Canadians who phoned a toll-free number to donate to the victims of the Manitoba flood heard a strange response. "This is British Airways," answered a cheery voice. British Airways? The callers were actually trying to reach the Canadian Red Cross Society. But a wire-service firm files Canadian Press, picked up by papers across the country, listed the airline's number by mistake, and its telephone operators, located in New York City, received dozens of calls—all at the company's expense. By the end of the day, the airline had installed a recorded message referring callers to the correct number: 888-356-6336.



AS THE RED RIVER RISES

The giant challenge of holding back the water: a tale of tragedy and victory



strong winds from the northwest, the flood walked over a highway and an elevated set of railway tracks west of the community. "Essentially, the water came in the backdoor," said flood liaison officer Whitney Ste. Agathe, postmaster from Chassagnon, the last civilian to flee the town, recalled. "A big, massive body of water came surging over the west side of the highway. You could feel it coming. It was awful, just like when you hear running rapids."

Concerns like that added urgency to the efforts then under way in Winnipeg and elsewhere in the province. Despite the gravity of the situation, however, there was a curious, almost festive, current running through all the preparations, aided by the outpouring of support—material as well as emotional—from the rest of the country. At the Brunkild dike, Gillis' troops, drawn from units scattered across the country, seemed to be enjoying the entire affair. Not far away, on the hockey arena at Sault Ste. Marie, where the Elmer's Brewery's 3rd Regiment, based in Petoskey, Ont., was headquartered, Bous-

hield Riv. Marauders, a 29-year-old native of St. Catharines, Ont., interrupted a lunch break to compare duty in Manitoba to that in western Bosnia. "It's really here that I think a change that might help to clean up the military's image in this country—you know, Somalia and all that stuff."

Much the same kind of spirit seemed to prevail in Winnipeg, where whole battalions of civilians daily volunteered for sandbag duty. "Sandbagging at school wasn't as much fun as at Kingston Crescent," said 12-year-old Jeanette Lusk, a Grade 7 student at Winnipeg's Montclair Collegiate, not far from The Forks, where the Assiniboine River meets the Red in the heart of the city. "It was so exciting, we were in the mud, and we ended up about two feet from the river that someone said has every disease known to man in it," the girl continued. "Kids were throwing sandbags in the mud on purpose. Had mud in my hair, called in. And the worst was coming out, getting brown."

A BRIEF HISTORY OF TIME

A recent history and modern-day misfortune combined to send a massive moving lake of floodwater surging across northern Manitoba. The bad luck was a blizzard that raged from April 4 to April 7. Until then, despite the havoc wrought by Minnesota's record flooding, many experts thought that Manitoba's natural and man-made defenses could handle the torrent of water that headed north into the Canadian leg of the Red River. Then the blizzard struck, adding 50 cm of moisture-laden, soon-to-melt snow to the equation and setting the stage for a full-scale emergency. As William Ramsay, a University of Winnipeg geographer, put it, "Events just conspired in the worst possible way."

Yet Manitoba is desperately flood-prone at the best of times. A major reason is the flatness of the Prairie landscape—and the fact that southern Manitoba rivers tend to flow through narrow, bench-like channels instead of the more spacious, slope-sided valleys of other waterways. As a result, when river levels get too high, the water pours out over the sides of the riverbed, forming temporary lakes. The origin of the problem goes back more than 10,000 years

to the Ice Age when retreating glaciers gave birth to Lake Agassiz—the sea body of water that once covered much of the western Prairie region. The lake blessed Manitoba with the flat expanse of lake sediment that forms its rich topsoil-bearing soil. But according to Ramsay, the sediment's burden of thick, sticky clay limits the river's ability to erode the surrounding landscape. Says Ramsay, "It's all mud as though the riverbed was cut into concrete."

There are other threats. Larry Stone, a University of Manitoba geographer, notes that the province's rivers encountered a special problem: for thousands of years the huge weight of glacial ice depressed the Earth's crust, which began springing up again as the glaciers pulled back. The rising land, says Stone, forced the Red into a steep climb—"bed raw," he adds, "that limits the river's capacity to carry extra water in its normal channel."

Manitoba's worst floods in modern times occurred during the 19th century. But the inundation that devastated Winnipeg in 1950 was bad enough to prompt construction of the \$63-million Floodway to divert excess Red River water safely around the city. Completed in 1968, the Floodway has worked well. But it offered no defense to the threat that suddenly loomed this



MARK NICHOLS with JAKE McDONALD in Winnipeg

Dan Deschêre, a Kingston Crescent resident, remembered the incident the volunteers, including young Jeanette, turned up. "It's a very emotional thing, especially those first moments when the first group of 100 or so people arrive at your door and start sandbagging," said the music producer. "It's pretty phenomenal. At first, you feel, 'Oh, my nice quiet neighborhood is overrun.' And then, when they're all gone, you find that you miss them."

But if there have been lighter moments in the fight to raise in the Red, there have also been heated nerves and misadventures, particularly in the days leading up to the arrival of the river's crest. "There was a riot from the snow," Premier Filmon tells a visitor to his office on the second floor at the provincial legislature. He does not look any worse for wear, but he confesses all the snow that has blanketed a man's degree in hydrology and water resource management is a mixed blessing. "It may be detrimental to have some technical knowledge," the premier remarks. "To not a wor-

er by nature, but I've seen the consequences of a hard day and I've often gotten up early with a baggy head in my stomach. Even though I'm relying on a group of people working cooperatively together to meet this challenge, I still have that sense that I'm ultimately responsible and that's a pretty scary thought."

Even if the river's power continues to be held in check, dealing with the aftermath is certain to be a draining task. There are, as yet, no accurate estimates of the cost of the damage inflicted upon Manitoba. The bill, however, is likely to amount to several times the \$25 million that Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Austin pressed on to Filmon last week as a kind of down payment in advance of the final tally.

In the meantime, Canadians across the country have been open to their worst fears, as well as their worst wishes, about Manitoba's beleaguered flood victims. The Red Cross and Prodigy that it wants to raise \$10 million through the Manitoba Flood Appeal. Dozens of corporations have already donated, pushing the total to \$500,000 after

three days. And on Friday morning, the lowest citizens of Winnipeg donated \$50,000 in just one hour in a telethon. "The fund-raising is going great," said Red Cross spokesperson Gary Tsewari in Winnipeg. "We have raised about \$500,000 in just one week." The major banks are all accepting donations, and the amount of money flowing in has been startling. Byweek's end, the Royal Bank, in conjunction with MasterCard, Rogers Media Inc. and CdnWest Global, had taken in \$150,000. Scotiabank, \$40,000, and Toronto-Dominion Bank, another \$25,000. The Red Cross, meanwhile, had received \$405,000 in pledges from across the country.

And has been coming in all shapes and forms. The Toronto Blue Jays baseball team collected money, as did the Calgary Philharmonic orchestra in British Columbia, the Princeton Rotary Club is sending bottled water

Ten days and 25,000 sandbags later, Lance Barber is almost too exhausted to be angry. His nerves are frayed and his muscles ache from building a three-metre-high dike around his house on the flooded banks of the Red River in St. Vital, a Winnipeg neighborhood. But his anger flares in a second when asked what he thinks about Jean Chretien calling an election while southern Manitoba copes with the flood of the century. "I'm

pressure to postpone the election in flood-stricken areas. Chief electoral officer Jean-Pierre Kingsley toured the area on Friday and met with chief returning officers to determine whether the election could go ahead. While no politician wanted to be seen as taking advantage of the situation, the party leaders could not resist doing exactly that by accusing others of playing politics with the flood. First in was NDP Leader Alex McLeod, who went to Winnipeg to announce that the party would support the campaign in the province until the Red threat was over. "People's homes and livelihoods are more important than politics," she said immediately. The Liberals' Paul Martin accused McLeod of playing politics. Barber's Preston Manning jumped in by phoning an open-line radio host to point out that a section of the Election Act allows Ottawa to delay votes in specific areas due to emergencies. Not wanting to be outdone, Chretien said the government knew all along that voting day in Manitoba could be delayed if necessary.

With 10 of Manitoba's 14 federal ridings affected or threatened by the flood, the Liberals' decision looked like a major blunder. Scrambling to save face, the party turned some of its campaign offices into flood insurance centres.

Nowhere was the impracticality of the coming election more obvious than in the sprawling Provencher riding in southeast Manitoba, where 17,000 of the riding's 80,000 people have been forced from their homes. "It's not as if the Liberals didn't know what was going on. Believe me, this will haunt them," says Provencher Reform candidate Larry Tardif, whose swamped home near St. Agathe was accessible only by boat. Liberal incumbent David Hood, who had asked Chretien to postpone the call, conceded the election was the last thing anyone wanted to hear about. "Anyone who is seen to be trying to take political advantage of this situation is asking for trouble, big trouble," Hood said. Perhaps the Prime Minister should have listened twice before putting his election timetable ahead of Mother Nature.

CLARE RINKER in Winnipeg

Barber: any losses at Chretien's

defeated," he says. "How in good conscience can they call an election when people are being hurt?" It was a question on the lips of thousands of Manitobans last week as the "Red menace" forced more than 25,000 from their homes in its relentless flow northward from the U.S. border. Struggling to save their homes, people let their outrage flow as freely as the muddy water itself. At almost every turn, members of the campaign drew snarls. Welcoming leading sandbags, one Barber's aluminum robot unanimously condemned the call. "It's the same old story," says Mike Kynge, 42, of Winnipeg. "We're in significant, everything stops at the Ontario border. I'll probably swing from the Liberals to the NDP."

As the public's fury grew, so did

Sewage on a Sunday



Adult conversation turns, as it must, to backup valves

BY ANN DOWSETT JOHNSTON

Hills. I'm not here right now because the entire city of Winnipeg has been swept away by the flood. Leave a message and I'll get back to you when we can catch up on the personal and the national news.

—Message on a personal answering machine

Welcome to Winnipeg, where the mayor is black and the preferences liberal. Flight 775 from Toronto, approaching the city from the south, banks to the right. My seatmate, taking his cue from the pilot, leans right too, stifling his grey pinstriped behind the collar of his satin curling jacket. Craning over me, he looks thoughtfully at his distresses. "Doo-wee, look at that!" Before the carter isn't loaded. "Boy, are they cooled!"

Perhaps. But the crest, on April 25, is still a full week away. It's cocktail hour on a frequent Friday night, and martini is being poured in River Heights. Just plays on the stereo, and the chair, which used to be another floor, are being brought to Gene Kelly's Slap in the Rain. Uninterrupted, adult conversation has turned, as it must, to sewage. Beyond the aquatic elite and bath boulevards of River Heights lies an archaic system that threatens to burst, *Assessable*, into all homes through every available opening. Toilets, sinks, showers, slushers still alive to be stuffed, accommodated or recovered. The most popular accessory, the sewage backup valve, has become the Tickle Mr. Elmo of Winnipeg hardware stores. Besides a across the country have been dispatched to their local stores and supplies are expected by courier at any moment.

But the resourceful aren't panicking. Overnight, lawyers and businessmen have become hydraulic engineers. "I heard that all you

need is a green garbage pail. Cut out the bottom, cork it over the opening, and you're fine." My neighbor says just pour concrete. "Worry about it after the flood." Another pout. "Buy 50 lb of fish, fill old nylon stockings, and run them down your drains." Someone snorts. The host pours a second round of martini.

Saturday afternoon on the Assiniboine River. Pete and Sherry MacDonald, having spent an evening at their kitchen table watching the river rise like bedlam, move all their basement belongings into their lounge room. On the television, a war-film style holdup news conference, warning parents not to underestimate the danger of the river. His son, 16, had been swept into a culvert. Duncan MacDonald, 4, has been made to sit through two evenings of these news casts. His mother grills him on the losses. "He got to be dead and he's not coming back," says Duncan, squinting. Sherry, his pet hamster, in one hand, and a naked third-floor figure in the other. "I don't go near the water."

By Sunday, there is an assembly of cars on city streets. Many families are away by the river, abandoning. The rest are inside, jangling. Sherry MacDonald and her basement stairs, transporting books, TV's toilets and major appliances to the upper levels. One wife, conducting the job alone, grips a beer while waiting. "His coming home on an early flight. It's the first known case of a rat returning to its stinking ship."

Down at The Forks where the Red and Assiniboine meet, visitors are celebrating Earth Day. Trees erupt up in the middle of the outdoor event, but the over-crowded is focused elsewhere. Members of the Wapewatong Band have just arrived by bus, and the branch customers at the

appropriately named Bridgeworks are signing petitions, gawking at the trees' flowers, overheard in their ornate oval eide. Brothers, hair giant and enormous. This turns out to be a surprise. Chretien didn't know where to get that sandbag when he flew here yesterday. Says one disgruntled Winnipegger. "I tell you, if the goes ahead and calls that election today there are a lot of us who can tell him where to stuff it. Either he just doesn't give a damn, or he thinks we're in such big trouble that we're all going to be wiped out."

Sunday, 5 o'clock. Parents with sore backs and grumpy children dash into the flood on Lake Street, grabbing coats and hurrying home to unshowered children. But some linger to chat, anxious to share their sense of foreboding. Pulitzer Prize-winning writer Carol Shields, dwarfed by a black trench coat, joins the group. "The other day I was standing in The Bay, buying a cosmetic for them," she says, "and I thought, 'My Lord, what am I doing? We're almost doomed!'" Suddenly, the talk has turned sober: the news is no longer anonymous. Mutual friends have had to evacuate their house. "This is the terrible coming, when you lose all sense of perspective," says Shields. Still, she dismisses the apocalyptic Old Testament rhetoric. "It's going to be a test. But you know, most of us are only one generation off the farm. There's a pioneering spirit—it's just one of those on the Prairies, and it always has been." □

With DAVID GILLEN. JANE MACDONALD and JANE STEWART in Winnipeg

donated by a Vancouver company. Residents of the Saginaw River Valley in Quebec, with memories of last summer's disastrous floods, threw in their collective memory, mailed \$100,000. The CBC's Peter Gosselin staged a nationwide charity benefit on Monocroque.

The public response has been so overwhelming that Gillies, for one, declined to direct what he described as "showing sense of a parliament" arising out of the "bottle against a common foe." That they will be true. But if it is, there are those who have paid a terrible price for the development. They are people like Red River farmer John Isaac, whose house and livestock currently lie at the bottom of a shallow, muddy sea. "It's a very, very hard thing to bear," he mutters as he sits in his red pickup, staring across the draining water towards the trees that mark all that remains of what was once a flourishing farm and business. Thousands of Manitobans share his plight.

With DAVID GILLEN. JANE MACDONALD and JANE STEWART in Winnipeg

(By the Internet to know more about the Manitoba flood by visiting the link partly below of the Mackinac Web site (<http://www.mackinac.ca/mackinac/>).



COVER

Diary of a river battle

For the past three years, Winnipeg novelist Margaret Swanson (left) and composer Glenn Baker have been living near St. Norbert, three kilometres south of the Floodway. Swanson worked on the top floor of their three-storey home, Baker on the bottom level, and the rest was shared with their six children—two here and four in, from previous marriages. Last spring, in what Swanson—43, now calls "The Toy Flood," they lost their second for two months and had to commiserate in by boat. And with the threat of early April, they were preparing for a similar experience. On April 26, after fighting to evacuate on their property, they were forced to evacuate. Here is Swanson's story, which she told in Maclean's Assistant Managing Editor Ann Denworth Johnston

The Toy Flood of '96 seemed disruptive at the time, but we look back on it fondly now. We built a three-level dike around the house, we lost our water, and we lost road access. It all seemed so depressing because we couldn't live with our children for about a month, then other parents' houses were still safe. But in retrospect, it was a real picnic. And it would have been another toy flood except for the blizzard. We had been starting to get ready—buying three new pumps, and beginning to dig, putting up poly and plywood. We worked tirelessly, thinking, "Well, we watched Edmonton rot away last flood, what will be this year?" After the blizzard, we knew we were in serious trouble. We started taking showers and ordering a hell of a lot of food. Last year, we just

up about 4,000 sandbags and we were preparing to put up 8,000. I believe when's around our house—or our swampy into our living room right now—is 20,000 sandbags. Groups of people we barely knew were spending entire days with us. St. Paul's High School and St. Mary's Academy were sending us entire grades.

But when the school kids arrived on Wednesday (April 26), the road was no longer passable by vehicle. Suddenly, we were trying to supply the in with socks, and it wasn't fun any more. The kids had been listening and listening to music and working their pants off, but that Wednesday was cold. By 1 o'clock, we had to get them out, even though they'd walked across the road and gotten wet at 9 by 11 they couldn't walk back. I found myself staring at the end of the road screaming at them, telling them they mustn't try and walk. Suddenly, we had army trucks in our driveway and the kids were loaded on to leave. That evening, my parents left in a carrier as well, carrying our babies. An army guy said to them, "You can't bring a baby." My dad said, "This baby is going with us." The kid was over.

It's very odd inside a ring dike. You don't need that much sleep, and you don't get a damn about anything else. For hours you stare at Manitoba gumbo with water flowing in from under your dike and all these little white warms and a garbage incinerator. And that becomes all you want to do. Just want to stand in just mud, wearing wet gloves, watching the worms. I could deal with that.

By Thursday, Glenn and I were left alone. We tried to get a lot of water in because we were still under the illusion that if we had a full culvert and a great big dike and enough pumps, we would ride

'It's odd inside a ring dike. You don't need sleep.'

it out. We spent much of the day wrapping the dike in poly, just like using a beautiful cello. My brother Wayne came out with the army, bringing us two more sump pumps, more hose and more electrical cord. We had to somehow get a sewage pump going to handle the backflow. We stopped drinking the sump pump needed 24-hour monitoring. You'd go out at night, hand it up to wet clothes, shining a flashlight to see whether you had to trigger the sump pump—surrounded by a three-foot wall of water. It started to get eerie.

By Friday evening, we were running on no sleep. I was drinking coffee and scotch and monitoring the pumps alone. Glenn had gone to help our neighbor Kent land stuff on his roof because his house was going under. Our local councillor, Gord McKeown, arrived with a police officer and the army in a duffle. They were treating us like a kid at that time and I guess I looked like one. But I tried to appear calm. I wanted him to leave quickly because one of our sumps was about to back up behind me. So I stood peering over the dike like that guy on *How Improvement*, saying "We're pat-

shell. We just wanted to make it out before the water ripped off our back deck, where the boat was tied."

At noon, only a week after we started digging, we jumped in the boat, drove around our house once and then down our street, sort of hounding each other and crying, of course. My brother came and got us, and as we were being driven to the police station, we were wearing our life jackets, we felt like failures. I continually think of what we might have done to have made that house more secure.

Good news: we'll make it out of this financially. Of course, there's no flood insurance. Last year, the Manitoba Disaster Assistance Board had us recoup some of our losses—thousands of dollars on pumps and so on. Yesterday, we had to go to the Red Cross to register for assistance. I did get some food and clothes because a little bit hard to make a living at the moment. Glenn had lost one of his "Margaret doesn't have any shoes." I was wearing rubber boots when we got out. They gave me a \$150 cheque, which I don't think I'll use.

Apparently water has now surrounded the St. Norbert Arts and Cultural Centre, an old monastery, which was to be our refuge. Glenn is organizing a music series there, and I'm teaching writing. They had given us wonderful places to go and work—studios and bedrooms. Now, they've evacuated that, too. Our refuge is gone.

The next six months are going to be intensely difficult. Glenn and I are with my kids in my parents' basement for now, and Glenn's kids are with their mother, but we're not sure how long either of the other parents' houses will be safe. My ex-husband's house is particularly vulnerable because it's outside the Floodway—and my kids are holding on to the fact they still have no more house. We had been planning to get married on July 14, but we'll have to postpone it so that we can celebrate properly.

On Thursday, I tried to get back down to see my house. A helicopter got up at the junction of the perimeter and Pembina Highway until "Black". So we drove west. Finally, a nice cop quietly waved us in to the abandoned area of St. Norbert, which looks like a real estate office where a hundred trades had all met, and countless drivers laughing at us, the mud had become a mud dike about six feet high. We then headed north, as if we were on the very home. The police were all over us, but they gave us a couple of minutes to dig up the mud dike. We did, and the water was right at our feet, level with the top of the mud wall. It really shook me up. I was two kilometres from our home and I was looking down on a lake. Until then, I had been kind of making for the fight. I had kind of killed myself into thinking that we could be pumping out our basement in a month. But there's no such water.

In the meantime, I've been watching the news and I've seen people coming out looking pretty like we did. We know they had been free for breakfast and they haven't slept since March. And they're still sane. There's a million stories like ours in the *Nation City*—say more houses jeopardized and lives threatened than expected. I guess you're kind of sick of this. Obviously, there will be cleanup and respect, and we'll live. But right now, there's a lot of loss, a lot of grief. □



line. Glenn is not right now"—as if Glenn were just all, phony terms. I managed to trick me: "How long do you plan on staying?" I managed to something like "Well, stay as long as it's OK." He handed me a notice. But said, "If you don't get out by 8 o'clock tonight, we're coming back tomorrow and leaving you out." So I started trying. "We have a gas pump and a generator and everything is under control here." And then I began whispering: "Give us the weekend because all we need is one more pump and everything is going to be OK." We said that if we had one more pump we could make it.

Right up until Saturday morning, we were concerned about our basement. But it was clear our sumps weren't making it, the circulation was starting to drop. Glenn left to make it back to pick up this magnificent sewage pump and get me some so that we could do this. He left the power to the upstairs. And then I heard a clicking sound outside. I thought it was a hose. I went around the back of the house and the dike had broken and the water started just pouring in from the river side. I started rushing everything to the second floor. Once a decent refuge, it was now covered in wet pumps.

Glenn got back by boat and we started to drink acetic acid and more whatever else we could. We were watching water fill all our sump pump holes and then rise up the basement stairs. We were both wearing life jackets, by now and just wearing in last we could. I realized that the water was going to be up to my chest in our living room within half an hour, so I was raising glasses up to the second

**Swanson's
house, gone,
back last
week (left),
last, right**

small business tips



Johanne Berry
President
Têl-Ressources Staffing Services Ltd.
Montreal, Que.

Here's an annual toast to entrepreneurship. After starting her employer placement company, Johanne Berry found the first five years a breeze. By 1990, Têl-Ressources Staffing Services Ltd. posted revenues of \$7 million and Johanne and her 25 employees were as busy as ever last year for sales.

Then came the recession. Some customers went under — and Johanne found that a golden touch was a reward, not a gift. Têl-Ressources lost money and she had to retreat in the business. She pared her staff to 11, and learned about making tough decisions. "It's lonely at the top," she says.

Johanne rebuilt the company by dedicating it to outstanding customer service. The recession started with herself. "I had not been in touch day-to-day with my customers," she says. "I picked up the phone, reconnected and got to know my clients again. You've got to use the words."

Têl-Ressources is one of Quebec's pre-eminent employer recruitment and placement firms. Close client contact has recently led Johanne to become an entrepreneur, managing all the staff functions for some customers. Revenues have topped \$8 million, and her 30 staff members place 500 people a year, mostly in clerical and administrative management positions.

"I have a lot of energy," says Johanne. "To be able to transfer that energy to my team is my gift."

Johanne's tips

1 Learn to delegate. Show confidence in the people who run your team. "The recession showed me that to be able to grow, you have to help other people grow," says Johanne. "Trust them, give them responsibility and then make them responsible for their performance. They're not alone, you're a team."

2 Admit your mistakes and others will not be afraid to make theirs. "Before the recession hit, I should have taken \$50,000 of my profit and hired a good second-in-command," says Johanne. "I was blaming myself, wondering where I went wrong. But you learn by your mistakes. To admit it, you reinforce to your staff that they, too, are allowed to make mistakes." Johanne's workers take the idea to heart. When a solid employee intended to quit her position, her manager admitted she had not paid adequate attention to her training and asked her to stay. Five years later, the employee is still there.

3 Follow your dreams. Remember that posting good numbers last quarter isn't enough. You have to do it year after year. "You start every day," says Johanne. "The only way to be here, to have passion, to have confidence. The path to success is too difficult for someone who has no passion."

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Battleground ONTARIO



BY ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH and MARY JANIGAN

The area known as Lincoln Heights in Waterloo, Ont., is the kind of instantly familiar place that could easily have served as the real-life inspiration for everything from television sitcoms to soap operas depicting life in suburbia. A subdivision built in the 1950s and 60s, its large, detached houses rest on neatly maintained, tree-filled lots. On a sunny afternoon last week, two small children rode bicycles, neighbors waved as they passed each other, a middle-aged woman tended her garden, and three cars were in driveways undergoing spring cleaning. There was also, as Progressive Conservative candidate Lynne Woodstrock would, occasionally voice unhappiness and occasional badgered about the three main federal policies: "People," said Woodstrock, "do not want door knocking, 'feel things slipping away' from them—and they don't know what, anything, they can do about that."

It is not yet clear how such sentiments will influence the campaign in the crucial battle-ground of Ontario. "No lie," says Richard Schmalz, a 19-year-old retired accountant and Lincoln Heights resident, "I am not hearing much that excites me." Although the Liberals swept all but one of the province's 99 ridings in 1995 (after last year's red-hot rebirth), Ontario now has 103, even if they concede that it is unlikely to happen again. This time, the Conservatives, New Democrats and Reform parties can each lay claim to strength in some areas of the province. And since NDP support seems mostly restricted to small pockets of voters in Southern and Northern Ontario, the crucial battle for second place behind the Liberals will be between the Tories and Reform. With Ontario holding over one-third of the seats in the House of Commons, the question of whether—and by how much—one of those parties can surge ahead will likely determine the Liberals' fate.

Ribworter Waterloo is a case in point. Prior to the 1993 election, the Tories held the riding—called Waterloo before redistribution—for 14 years. The candidates for the three leading parties, Liberal MP Andrew Telycki, the Tories' Woodstrock, and Reform's Mike



This time, a Liberawep seems unlikely



Woodstrock (left) Woodstrock campaign wing (above right). People feel things slipping away

Connelly, are personable, well-known local figures who also ran against each other in 1995. The final totals were: Liberals, 38,268 votes; Reform, 15,918; Tories, 15,104; NDP, 2,822. The right-wing split, in short, gave the Liberals the victory. But that was then. This time around, in spite of their high standing in the polls—more than 35 per cent in Ontario, according to recent surveys—Liberal strategists are uneasy. In particular, they fret that a right-wing split is unlikely to occur—and that Ontario readers will turn to the Tories in order to replace opposition parties they perceive as regional. The Bloc Québécois took Quebec and the Reform party from the West. Says Stephen LeDrew, the president of the Ontario wing of the federal Liberals: "There is no question that the Tories are looked at because some people want a cohesive opposition." And, he adds, "people say, 'Let's get off of this broken, gray group.'"

Those sentiments, in fact, surface often in Kitchener/Waterloo,

a riding that Conservative Leader Jean Charest visited within his first two days of campaigning last week. The area is relatively affluent, with a large number of high-tech enterprises, two universities and an unemployment rate below the national average. Because of these relatively comfortable local circumstances, candidates agree, voters' concerns about the campaign are largely national, rather than local, in focus. "People are concerned about the future of the country," says Reform candidate Mike Connolly. A 60-year-old native of Britain who had been a longtime army officer, he moved to Canada in the early 1980s and soon became involved in local politics as an alderman. He applauds his party's refusal to recognize Quebec as a distinct society—unlike the stand of the Liberals, the Tories and the NDP—and its call for the devolution of powers over language and culture to all provinces. "Reform," says Connolly, "is a full, enthusiastic anti," is the only party that has any new ideas about Quebec—and just about anything else, for that matter."

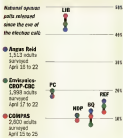
Incentive Liberal MP Telycki, 50, on the other hand, is a solemn, well-spoken figure whose stance on most issues is well-delineated. National unity, he agrees, is important, but "you need a truly national party with roots in Quebec to handle that—and that is us." Woodstrock, 52, makes the same claim for the Tories. An aggressively blunt and vigorous woman with a long record of community involvement, she sometimes sounds more like a New Democrat as she bemoans many of the Liberals' cuts to health and social services. "We balance our pragmatism on spending with compassion," she says. "The Liberals have lost touch with those values."

Still, a riding through Lincoln Heights, with Woodstrock shown that, so far, voters have many different opinions over what issues matter most—and which party is best able to address them. At one point, a 33-year-old salesman says he will vote Liberal in large part because he likes the steep cuts made by the Ontario Tories and admires federal Finance Minister Paul Martin for doing some of the same. At another point, a woman in her 60s says that the promises from the different parties "all sound the same, and so we keep their promises." She says she is not sure if voters are unresponsive, "because from a party that raised them so much while in power." But at another point, there are signs that Woodstrock is making headway. Robin Banks, a retired 60-year-old former university professor, is a friend of Telycki and a longtime Liberal. But he admits to being frustrated with Prime Minister Jean Chrétien over his hesitation to scrap the Goods and Services Tax. He is very annoyed by cuts to the CBC, and fears the Liberals "have no sense of where to take the country." Banks will not say he will vote, but adds: "I am looking at the Reform way closely."

To counter such views, the Liberals are portraying the Tories, with their platform of tax cuts and reduced government, as an ideological twin to Reform. But their hopes for a split in the right-wing vote may be strained by one fact: Reform standings remain low in many areas. The key exception is central Ontario, including Peterborough and Barrie, and pockets of southwestern Ontario. In fact, Liberal organizers are taking a very skeptical approach to Justice Minister Allan Rock and some commentators to recruit voters of the government's controversial 1995 gun-control legislation, including the requirement that all weapons must be registered. "Every time Allan talks about gun control, Reform goes up," says a senior Liberal. "We want him to Oshawa or Woodstock because it gets their dander up."

If the Liberals start to slip, their losses will start in the crucial suburban belt around Metro Toronto, including Markham and Brampton/Gerrard/Midland, and split into two main areas in central Ontario. The Tories, currently, are concentrating on so-called 985 country, the ring around Metro. Their support is at its highest level there—up to 25 per cent of decided voters. To counter fears that the federal Tories would, like Mike Martin's previous government, cut taxes and then slash health and educational services, Charest stresses that his promised 10-per-cent reduction in personal income taxes will put more money in consumers' pockets, stimulate the economy and create jobs. And he underlines his commitment to raise federal income payments to the provinces that need it most. "There is no magic ball to get us to the top; we simply have to get the message out that we have a

TRACKING THE PARTIES



plan," says Ontario campaign co-chairman Jim Dymond.

Reform Leader Preston Manning is concentrating on southwestern Ontario, including Guelph, Waterloo, Kitchener, Cambridge and Brantford. His problem: the Tories are targeting the same money-rich, sprawling Reform's old voter. Strategists for other parties note that, whether for or not, Reform's reputation for attracting MPs and candidates on the far right offends many people. One such voter is Andrew Townsend, a 31-year-old employee of a high-tech firm in the Ottawa bedroom community of Kanata. He voted Reform in 1993, but vows he will not do so again because, he says, "none of them are who I'm [Townsend adds he will] vote for." Tory because. "Thomas Mulcair isn't part of my core and John Charest knows where he is going."

But he, like many potential Tory voters in the province, is upset by Charest's support for distant society status for Quebec. That is one ace in the hole for Manning. Another is his call for a \$3,000 tax cut by the year 2000 for an average family. As campaign director Rick Anderson puts it, "People feel that they are working extremely hard at jobs that are under threat and that don't pay them enough, after the tax risk is through, to allow them to save for their retirement or reduce their debt."

While Reform and the Tories scramble for seats on the right of the Liberals, the New Democratic Party is attacking from the left. It is concentrating on ridings where the party has traditional pockets of support: Northern Ontario, including Sudb. Ste. Marie and Michell Belt (where veteran The Marini and the party's strongest Ontario hold), downtown Toronto and Windsor. In the early going, strategists from other parties concede that NDP Leader Alexa McDonough has been surprisingly effective—in part because of her blunt admission that her party has no chance to gain power and is hoping to serve as "the conscience of Parliament" instead. "People think of it as a strategy—I just think of it as telling the truth," McDonough said in the campaign in Kingston last week. The Liberals, she added, "trust in a social democratic program. But after the election is over, they govern on behalf of the elites." Still, McDonough may have hurt herself badly last week when she conceded that the NDP's platform will cost \$18 billion.

Ultimately, says one Ontario Liberal, one of his party's biggest advantages rests on the fact that "no money people less than each of the other parties." But in some ways, the real key to success may lie among voters who already know that they won't vote Liberal. In Lincoln Heights, Brian Schmidt, an occasional Liberal voter in the past, says the party now has "too many MPs"—and that he will vote for either Reform or the Tories. For now, the polls indicate there are hundreds of thousands of others like him in Ontario. The Liberals have to hope that when June 2 comes, those voters will split that anti-government vote right down the middle. If they cannot divide their opposition, they may be unable to conquer.

With TOM PENNELL in Hamilton,
JANIS PINKER in Ottawa and
JOHN DUMFRIES in Vancouver

Do you think it essential if a separatist party forms the official Opposition? Post your views in the election section of the Maclean's Forum (www.macleans.ca/forum/elec).

CALLING 905

Jack Cox sips his coffee and, along with a few acquaintances, savors the warmth of a sunny spring morning. They sit outside a gourmet coffee shop just off the picturesque main street of Markham, Ont., a sprawling bedroom community of 175,000 people northeast of Metro Toronto. The conversation is amiable—until it turns to the election. "You can't believe anything anybody says any more," says Patricia Nyman, 45, an unemployed office worker. "I admire Chretien for trying to do something about the deficit."

That is a common refrain among middle-class residents of these ridings. "With the income we have, we just make ends meet," said Mary Pirolet, 31, owner of a Markham flower shop and a mother of two preschool children. "We're renting because we can't afford to buy." In Whitby, a lakeshore community of 70,000 people 45 km east of Toronto, lack of sales security led Nick Romagnolo, 35, to close his home-based business making custom-designed mirrors and glass topped tables. "I was manufacturing luxury items," said Romagnolo, a father of two, whose wife is a sales representative for a lamp manufacturer, "and people can't afford luxury items. People are barely surviving. Governments are taxing everybody to death."

But while individuals are being financially squeezed, many 905 communities are thriving. Municipal officials note that housing starts have risen dramatically in the past 18 months, commercial vacancy rates have dropped and industries are expanding. "Companies have to build because there is just no space left to lease," said Gary Ridgway, economic development officer with the city of Burlington. "And our retail sector has really taken off." The challenge for Reformers and Tories, it seems, may be keeping still disgruntled suburban voters focused on their own bottom lines.

Manning: Liberal strategists hope for a split in the right wing vote

regies. Cox, 50, who owns a photo studio, "But when he starts the giveaways I feel insulted. The Liberals are bringing us with our own money and they think we're too stupid to see through it."

Welcome to 905 country, a suburban-rich belt that includes all or parts of 25 federal ridings and stretches from the town of Cobourg, on the north shore of Lake Ontario, around Metro Toronto and south to the city of Niagara Falls. These ridings, which share a common telephone area code, are an integral part of the Ontario battleground. In fact, Reform and Conservative hopes for a breakthrough may rest with 905 voters, who heavily supported provincial Conservative Leader Mike Harris and his Communist Sense Revolution in the 1995 Ontario election. "We're going to be here a lot," says Rick Anderson, Reform's national campaign



SPAIN HEIGHTS

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The incomparable Alhambra. The exhilaration of skiing in the white peaks of the Sierra Nevada. Two very different reasons for visiting Granada, both within easy reach of the other.



DARCY JENKIN

Trail Mix

"It's as though the Prime Minister, after making bootballoosie, is announcing that he's going to put the fish back together."

Conservative leader Jean Charest on the Liberals' promise of health-care funding

"Voters are not going to be fooled into thinking that a government that steals your purse like a petty thief and then offers you bus fare to get home is actually addressing your needs."

NP Leader Steve McLaughlin

"Looking at this, it's goodbye Red Book, hello chopbook."

Liberal party leader Preston Manning on the Liberals' campaign platform

"If I knew, it would be one employee less."

Prime Minister Jean Charest on the task of his party's platform in Quebec

SPOTLIGHT: By Mary Janigan



Emergency. \$5.2 billion reallocated to health care

THE RED BOOK, PART 2

THE POLICY: In their 300-page 1997 Red Book the Liberals have, once again, tried to do all things to all people: deficit-fighters, promoters of social programs and taxpayers. The new Red Book trumpets the party's success in lowering the annual deficit from \$42 billion to the point that Canada will no longer have to borrow any money "in 1998. It outlines \$6.5 billion in new spending between 1997-1998 and 2000-2002, including the cancellation of \$5.4 billion in planned cuts to provincial cash transfers. It says that this money will fund health care. And it promises that after the

budget is balanced—which most economists expect in 1998-2000—any surplus will be split, one-half will fund social programs, while one-half will be used to pay down Canada's \$60.0-billion accumulated debt and provide a long-term tax cut.

THE REALITY: The Liberals do deserve credit for their progress against the deficit. According to the most recent figures, between April, 1996, and February, 1997, the deficit was only \$7.8 billion—that is \$15.5 billion lower than it was during the same period in the previous year. The total deficit for 1996-1997 will likely hover around \$3.4 billion—an impressive achievement.

But how did the Liberals do it? Largely at someone else's expense. Between 1983-1994 and 1995-1996, total tax revenues have gone up 25 per cent. The take from personal income taxes is up 29 per cent. The picture from corporate taxes are up a staggering 72 per cent. During the same period, though, federal cash transfers to the provinces for health, education and welfare have plummeted 34 per cent—\$41.2 billion from \$28.8 billion. And in their own back yard, the Liberals have cut departmental spending by only 13 per cent. (They actually spent more than that—but they could not resist the temptation to spend more than \$2 billion on such projects as the redesign of the infrastructure program.) Lower interest

rates have also shaved billions off the deficit, making the Liberals' job that much easier.

With the deficit almost eliminated, the Red Book now positions the federal government as the prudent while loudly dedicating to growing social programs. After cutting annual cash transfers to the beleaguered provinces, the Liberals now promise that they will not make further cuts to health-care payments. Those cuts—if they had been made—would have totalled \$6.4 billion over four years. In effect, the Liberals are putting themselves on the back for not authorizing the previous problem. Worse, they cannot guarantee that the provinces will use this money for health care; transfer payments are block grants that the provinces can use for anything—even tax cuts.

The 1997 Red Book's remaining \$1.1-billion array of new promises stretched out over six chapters and four pages, offers something for everyone. There is \$240 million for grants to students with dependents, \$200 million for urban Aboriginal youth centres, \$120 million for community crime prevention, \$20 million for new works of art to celebrate the new century, \$135 million to expand the industrial research assistance program.

What makes the Red Book so hard to decipher is its vague promise of tax cuts, the Liberals are across-the-board spenders. They had a choice: that \$5.5 billion in well-timed spending could have been used to lower Employment Insurance premiums or personal income taxes. The Liberals opted to spend the so-called deficit dividend rather than return it to its taxpayers. Despite their rhetoric, that is their reality.



Wearing many political hats

Liberal leader Jean Charest adapted a new look during a tour of a cheese factory in Saint-Jean. His picture produced cost-conscious clickers, displaying some of the perils of campaigning.

THE GREY AREA OF ELECTION PAY

Who pays the salary of ministerial staff during an election campaign? Does being in power—and having access to the resources of government—automatically favor the Liberals? Under the Elections Act, payroll costs for campaign-related work must be paid by the party. If the rules are clear, the reality is murky. There is a very wide grey area, says Jean-Marie Haneil, who until 1990 spent 21 years as Canada's chief election officer. "It is in effect, an honor system." The problem is that political staff must often split their time between ministerial work and electioneering—and determining how much time is spent on each activity is nearly impossible. Besides, say former ministerial aides, there are ways to work around the rules. One is to give ministerial staff government paid time off for their campaign work. Another is to grant them leave of absence to work on the campaign—said Elections Canada has no way of finding out whether those leaves are paid or unpaid.

Scant attention has been paid to the matter—perhaps because nobody in the major parties has ever raised much of a fuss. Most opposition MPs have small staffs and find themselves in the same position as the ruling party at election time. Still, the Liberals have been at pains to at least appear that they are playing by the rules. According to one ministerial aide, ministers were lined by Hugh Wilson, Jean Charest's former aide, 10 days before the election cut. They were told—in no uncertain terms—that

any staff involved in work for the campaign must be on an unpaid leave of absence. "It was a stern warning," said the aide, "because all the way" Peter Donolo, the Prime Minister's communications director, says that every penny spent on the Liberal campaign is being paid out of the party funds. "I will do any ministerial work," he adds, "but I'm sitting an unpaid leave of absence."

Still, opposition MPs remain suspicious. Referring to Donolo's Grey area—who has only one person from her office working on her campaign, but he is on unpaid leave—says that she has already heard "harsh stories" about the Liberals' use of staff. "Underneath, they are trying to show and hide their way around the act." Grey says. "You have to be concerned about it."



THE CYBER-CAMPAIGN

Canada's political parties have entered their campaign machines into the World Wide Web—with mixed results. A review of campaign Web sites

1. Reform

(http://www.reform.ca). The most sophisticated of a desperately dull bunch, Reform's site boasts text, photos, history. A graphic map interface—modeled, apparently, after a lower school—directs visitors to candidate listings, campaign stops and a large archive. Best features include an on-line survey and a mailing list for campaign updates via e-mail. User-friendly, attractive. **Rating: A-**

2. Progressive Conservative

(http://www.pc.gc.ca). Once people get past the Star Trek kluge of the welcome page, this is a fair site. It offers an on-line version of the Tory platform, updated campaign history, a message board for chatty Tories and audio clips of leader Jean Charest in action. Lively animations, hand-drawn caricatures. **Rating: B**

3. NDP

(http://www.ndp.ca). A feisty site, with just about every page sporting leader Alexa McDonough's smiling visage. Links to the party's platform, treasury, newsletters and candidate listings, as well as to other Canadian political parties



(any picture index). Earnest but dull. **Rating: C+**

4. Liberal
(http://www.liberal.ca). Visually unimpressive, with a few useful features. In campaign notebook

and a mailing list service) listed under "let's put anything on-line" material. Like the 1997 book, it's a little bit off-kilter. Using last week's link to Jean Charest's biography was empty. **Rating: C**

5. Bloc Québécois

(http://www.blocquebecois.qc.ca). Until well into the campaign the Bloc's site presided on the Web was a mess. Opposition site, news presentation, all on the promise of "a wealth of pertinent information," was belied by the fact that it hadn't been revised since April 14. By week's end, the party's new site was not yet up and running. **Rating: F**

AND CHAREST

HIGHLIGHTS

STEALING THUNDER

The search had been set for last Thursday in Ottawa. But Preston Manning beat the Liberals to the punch by inviting a leaked copy of their 1997 campaign platform, "Securing Our Future Together," to the media two days early during a visit to Quebec City. Liberal opponents were forced to scramble and reschedule their official launch to Wednesday. Putting a positive spin on the incident, red-faced party officials said it had given their platform even more publicity.

TAKES UP, DEFICIT DOWN

The New Democrats launched their official platform in Toronto. Among the major planks: reducing the unemployment rate to 5.4 per cent in four years and increasing social spending by \$18.8 billion. Those cuts would be offset by higher taxes—corporate and high income earners, for example, would pay a larger share—and increased revenue from economic growth. As a result, the platform says, the federal budget would be balanced by the year 2001.

BOUCHARD SPEAKS UP

In an effort to shore up support for the Bloc Québécois, Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard said in an interview with the media: "I am going to work for the Bloc candidates," he told 600 supporters at the convention meeting for Yves Durocher, who is running against Jean Charest in the riding of St-Jacques. "It is the future of Quebec that will be decided in this election. The federal election campaign, I am going to work for the Bloc candidates," he told 600 supporters at the convention meeting for Yves Durocher, who is running against Jean Charest in the riding of St-Jacques. "It is the future of Quebec that will be decided in this election. The federal election campaign, I am going to work for the Bloc candidates," he told 600 supporters at the convention meeting for Yves Durocher, who is running against Jean Charest in the riding of St-Jacques.

THE COUNT CONTINUES

The count of votes continues as of week's end, 18,753,054 Canadians had registered for the June 2 election. Those names will be included on a new, permanent voters list that will be continually updated and used for all future elections, by-elections and referendum votes. Voters who have not yet registered have until May 25 to do so. But unregistered voters can still vote if they arrive at their voting station with proper identification.

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Longstaff
(right): old grudges
are dying

CANADA
BUREAU REPORT: The Prairies

'Do-or-die' time

Reform fights a rearguard action in its own backyard

BY DALE KISLER

In the cradle of Canadian populism, where Prairie anger against Ottawa can flow as menacingly as a Muskoka flood, it was a remarkable scene. The federal election campaign had only just begun and there was Rex Longstaff, former city councillor and now Liberal candidate in Calgary Centre, being greeted with respect—and sometimes warmth—as she trudged door-to-door in the trendy Kensington area. One householder who spoke with Longstaff even admitted that he may switch his vote from Reform, which now holds the riding, to the Liberals. "I like a lot of what Preston Manning says," explained teacher Stan Phelps, 67. "But I know Rex is a good person and the Liberals have done a decent job." The stay was the same a few doors down, where a middle-aged woman who also voted Reform in 1993 confessed she will "think seriously"



about Longstaff. What she would not do, however, was recast her name. "Heaven no," she said. "I don't want people to know I could actually vote Liberal!" That reluctance is understandable. A few short years ago, Liberal candidates in Alberta were often greeted like the carriers of an airborne disease. Nowhere was that sentiment stronger than in Calgary, a city that has not elected a Liberal since 1968. But as the election unfolds, there are signs that old grudges are dying—and that the Reform party's stronghold on Alberta may be weakening as it confronts not only the Liberals but also a resurgent Conservative party. "It's do-or-die for Reform," says University of Calgary political scientist David Tarr. The stakes, although different, are also high in the other two Prairie provinces, with battle lines that vary from riding to riding or, in the case of Manitoba, from duke to duke.



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CANADA

In Saskatchewan, the birthplace of Canadian social democracy, the New Democrats hope to improve on the five at 34 seats they narrowly held—at the expense of the Liberal and Reform. And in Manitoba, where the governing party holds 12 of 34 seats, the NDP Reform and Tories are all gunning for gains.

But Alberta remains the most closely watched battlefield. As Reform struggles in the rest of Canada to break free from its regional straitjacket, it faces the prospect of fighting a rearguard action to retain the 22 of 36 Alberta seats it won in 1993. Just how serious the Liberal challenge will be is far from clear. While the Grits are getting louder than Reform overall, their support seems concentrated in a few urban areas such as Edmonton and Calgary. But the Liberals have hijacked many of the fiscally conservative policies recently advanced by Reform. In particular Finance Minister Paul Martin's attack on the deficit, together with a booming provincial oil sector, has traded to neutralize the powerful Alberta business community as a critic of Ottawa.

The biggest headache for Reform could be the surge of life stirring in Tory ranks. "The Tories have made something of a comeback and it looks like more of a two-way race than we've ever had before in this province," says pollster Bruce Cameron of the Angus Reid Group in Calgary. An Angus Reid poll released the day before the April 27 election poll showed the Liberals with 36 per cent of the electoral vote in Alberta, compared with 26 per cent for Reform and a surprising 27 for the Tories. And if energy counts, the Tories will definitely be a factor.

Bright and early on the first full day of the campaign, Conservative candidates were waving at Calgary bus stops and train platforms to shake the heads of early morning commuters. "We're going to surprise a lot of people," vows Doug Ford, the Conservatives' Alberta campaign manager. Banned to the political wilderness in 1989 as a backstabber against former prime minister Brian Mulroney, the party is hoped to be back the longtime Conservative voters in time to Reform the last time around. "Watch Calgary," predicts Tory national campaign chairman Dave Shackel. "We're going to win some of the traditional seats that we held for years."

The same cannot be said about rural Alberta, where issues such as grain control and getting tough on crime work heavily in Reform's favor. And Reform strategists play down the threat, maintaining that Liberal support will recede as surely as snow in a Prairie spring—and that the Tories will become irrelevant once voters begin to think seriously about the economy. CIBC's Reform's national campaign chairman, predicts that the party will expand on its existing base and could well sweep the province. "I don't care what the polls say," Fryers says. "After turning in Reform a big win, Albertans are not going to turn away—they're not that fickle."

Manitoba has been using the same argument for months: once people focus on issues such as jobs, taxes and crime, they will embrace

Reform's "fresh start" platform. Even Liberals were admitting privately that the impact of Reform's policy statements—more than 300,000 copies were delivered to Alberta households last week—should not be underestimated. In one Liberal pollster in Ottawa told Maclean's last week that Reform won the "most direct" platform of all the parties. "It is a ruthlessly political document," the pollster said. "But there's no doubt that is where people's heads are at."

So far, though, the Western campaign appears to lack the emotion so evident at the core of Prairie election battles. Traditionally, alienation and anger with federal policies have driven the political process, producing populist movements such as some radical Social Credit and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. But without the same anger directed at the Charbonneau government, election politics on the Prairies has lost some of its regional flavor. Albertans, for example, are concerned about the national deficit, not so much about the national deficit. Other than Canadians, says University of Alberta political scientist Allen Tupper—jobs, personal security, taxes. "In many ways, there's a lot that is less distinctive about the agenda in the province," Tupper says. "It will be very much part of the national campaign."

In Saskatchewan, the primary battle is between the New Democrats and the Liberals, who each held five seats going into the campaign, with Reform looking hard pressed to hold its four seats. (The Tories, ousted by the long-term stretch of Grand Devine's so-called pleasured provincial government, are almost invisible.) With Roy Romanow's NDP still popular, the federal party hopes to ride the premier's coattails and sit at least two more seats in the legislature. In the NDP's sights are Liberal incumbents Gordon Rathky of Prince Albert and Georgeette Sheridan in Saskatoon/Hamilton. In all, NDP strategists have targeted seven ridings in Saskatchewan as "likely" wins, but they believe the party could collect as many as nine. "Our analysis is that we're up, Reform is down and the Liberals are about the same," says Saskatchewan NDP campaign chairman Rod Dickson. As a result, Saskatchewan will be a major focus for NDP leader Alexa McDonough, whose first campaign visit last week was Regina. The Angus Reid Group's Cameron agrees there is room for Reform to make gains in Saskatchewan—and Manitoba. "The move to the right by the Liberals seems to have opened the door for the NDP to pick up seats in both provinces," he says.

But in flood-soaked Manitoba, the campaign is the last thing on people's minds. Except, that is, when they think about the timing of the election call. Last week, with the province under a state of emergency, Winnipeg living a major evacuation and huge tracts of southern Manitoba under a curfew, the election call was a radio show in Winnipeg unanimously condemned the Prime Minister's decision. "Can you imagine the election being called if Toronto was facing this situation," snarled one caller. "I doubt it." On the Prairies, where anger with Ottawa has yet to emerge with its usual strength, this is one flood that might yet spawn a populist political tide. □

RIDINGS TO WATCH

Calgary Southwest: This showdown between Reform's Susan Kinning and the Tories' David Knapp is critical to whether the Conservatives can mount a comeback in Alberta. They consider claim their party is show them ahead, while Reformers say Kinning will coast to victory.

Edmonton West: In 1993, Liberal Anne McLellan initially had the slimmest possible margin of victory—one vote out of the more than 35,000 cast, which increased to 12 after a recount. As the natural resources minister, she should enjoy name recognition, but Reform candidate Dean Kuykendall may benefit from the fact that redistribution has added territory from a Reform-held riding.

Prince Albert: In Saskatchewan, where the battle is largely between New Democrats and Liberals, this shapes up to be a major battle. Liberal incumbent and former mayor Gordon Kring has been targeted by the NDP and faces Ray Funk, who held the riding before 1993.

Saskatoon-Regina-Becker: Redistribution has resulted in a head-to-head battle of MPs in this Saskatchewan riding. Elwyn Horsman is among the most respected members of the Reform caucus, but he is in a tough race against veteran New Democrat Chris Atkinson.

Portage-LaPoudre: John Hogganport, Reform's only incumbent in Manitoba, is facing off against the Tories' Brian Pallister, a former cabinet minister and the province's potential governor. The betting is on the Tories in what looks to be a two-party race.

Brandon-Souris: The Tories are pinning their hopes on Brandon Mayor Rick Borwick, who many believe has the inside track against Liberal incumbent Glen McKinnon and Reform's Ed Agnew.



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SOMALIA TURNAROUND

The Federal Court of Appeal overturned a decision that exonerated Gilles Lefebvre, chairman of the Somalia inquiry, from laying blame against Brig.-Gen. David Bess. Last year the Federal Court ruled that Lefebvre had shown bias against Bess—the former commander of the Special Services Force that included the defunct Canadian Airborne Regiment—and as such could not blame him in his report on the tarnished mission in 1993-1995.

MORE WOMEN DYING

A University of Toronto study found that more Ontario women are being killed by husbands and boyfriends despite tougher laws. Criminologist Rosemary Gartner said 158 women were murdered by their male companions between 1991 and 1994, or about 42 a year—up from 32 a year between 1974 and 1989. More than half the killings were linked to an actual or impending separation.

CHARGES DROPPED

Carolyn MacDonald, a former lawyer for murderer Paul Bernardo, was cleared of three charges related to her handling of videotapes depicting Bernardo sexually assaulting two teenage girls. The charges were withdrawn because of a lack of evidence. Kim Murray, who represented Bernardo in 1993, also had one charge dropped, but still faces charges of obstructing justice, possession of child pornography and making obscene material.

MILLIONS WASTED

An internal audit by the defence department says that since 1982 the government has wasted at least \$17 million in buy-outs to military personnel who would have left the armed forces anyway. In some cases, those who took the buy-out rejected the department as civilians and are now eligible for a public-service buy-out.

CONTAMINATED

The former head of Ontario's Centre of Forensic Sciences, Norman Erickson, laid a public inquiry that he knew key forensics evidence was contaminated before Guy Paul Morin went to trial for the 1984 murder of Christine Jessop. The evidence was used against Morin at Queen's Park, but was convicted in 1992. He was exonerated by new DNA evidence in 1995.



Dean (second from left): guilty in the death of a native princess

An Ipperwash verdict

Family and friends of Dudley George broke into loud cheers as Judge Hugh Fraser of the Ontario Court provincial division said that acting Sgt. Kenneth Dwyer of the Ontario Provincial Police was guilty of criminal negligence in causing the native protest's death. "I didn't know what to think, I went numb when I heard," said George's brother, Sam. "Today, some justice was done."

acted no shots from George's direction. No rifle was ever found. "The story of his rifle and the muzzle flash were concocted after the fact in an ill-fated attempt to disguise the fact that an unarmed man was shot," Fraser ruled, adding that Dwyer was "not honest in relating this version of events." Dwyer, whose lawyer plans to appeal, is scheduled to be sentenced on May 27.

Ontario backs down

Ontario was forced to back down on its plan to saddle municipalities with more financial responsibilities. Last January, the Conservative government said it would assume the province's \$5.4-billion education tab—previously paid for out of municipal property taxes—but in exchange would offload a large portion of the costs for various health and social services onto local governments. Municipalities said that would burden them with as much as \$1 billion in additional expenditures and under license pressure from the Association of Municipalities of Ontario and others, Queen's Park (MPP) it agreed to assume only 50 per cent of education costs, and continue paying the full cost of long-term care for the elderly and disabled. Ontario will also continue paying 80 per cent of welfare, instead of shifting the tab 50-50 as had been proposed. In addition, the province pledged \$627 million to smooth the way for municipalities to take over responsibilities for transit, sewer and road costs. A sore spot continues to be the province's intention to force municipalities to pay for social housing, beginning next year, even though Ontario agreed to walk the bill with a one-time expenditure of \$250 million for housing upgrades. Municipal Affairs Minister Al Leach said the new deal would have "zero" financial impact on municipalities.



World

Blair's blowout

From the kitchen window of his house in northeast England's former coal country, Tony Blair can gaze out over lush green fields to the hills of Trianon. George, Once, Trianon George was an enormous heap of rock and coal piled 20 times higher than the hills you see now," says George Elliott, Blair's neighbor from just down the lane. But all that remains from those days is a single miner's wheel, left as a memorial to 74 men and boys killed by an explosion in 1882. Blair has represented this constituency for 14 years—living in what was long ago the mine manager's home—and he has watched the last of its mines close and an old way of life fade away. When he returned to the house last week on the night before the election that would make him Britain's first Labour prime minister in 29 years, the evening sun slipped behind a Trianon George that has changed completely since he arrived: what was once a landscape

of slag is now covered by grass, young trees and grazing horses. The constituency Blair represents is much like the Labour Party he leads. Its old voting list, and the future remains mostly uncharted. Though it certainly no longer wears a cloth cap or depends on carrying a union card and a chip of classy civility on its shoulder, Blair was one of the first Labour members to realize that the party had to throw off its dogmatic socialist baggage if it wanted to win power in the age of global free markets. "It was here in this constituency we created New Labour," he said to the local newspaper who agreed to let the sunbath atmosphere of the Trianon Labour Club on the last night of the campaign. "Ours is a philosophy, not at the past, not some relic of a mission, but of the future." They cheered him lustily in Trianon that night, before allowing him to slip into the workmen's club next door for a pint of ale. The next day, enough voters in the rest of the country bought Blair's pitch to

head into the greatest British electoral triumph this century. Blair did not just beat a spiritually exhausted Conservative party. He pulverized it. Labour won 45 percent of the vote, and 115 of Westminster's 650 seats. The 165 Tories who survived the wreck are the least the party has had in Parliament since 2006. The defeated included seven cabinet ministers, not least Michael Portillo, who was once vowed to be the next leader but lost what was considered the 50th safest Conservative seat in Britain. Tories tainted by squalor and sex scandals were crushed. Olympic hero Sebastian Coe fell. The Conservatives no longer had a single seat in Scotland or Wales, and Labour won seats it had not held since 1923. It even won Margaret Thatcher's old north London constituency. "Tonight, we have been comprehensively defeated," said outgoing prime minister John Major in conceding to Blair, and it still sounded like he was suggesting the message.

The British transfer of power occurred in its swiftest. Major handed the Queen his resignation at 11:50 the next morning. Before the bid was even accepted, and was not even a crack-and under the sun at the Grid in Surrey by the afternoon. He announced his intention to resign as Conservative leader, opening the door to what will undoubtedly be a noisy election to rule the reins of the party that revolutionized Britain during the 1990s.

Meanwhile, Blair has the chance to win a 10 Downing Street. At 41, he is the youngest British prime minister since 1812, and the tallest and youngest of 33 Downing will have to handle the

suggesting it showed his true colors as an old-style socialist. Their clarity (and indeed, largely because Blair has always been in the vanguard of dissent from Labour's hardline left. He had long argued that Labour's economic policies resulted in a bleakness of the party for the 1980s election on a platform of industrial and unilaterally driven Britain, making a new package for Thatcher). Blair was always a bit of an unlikely Labourer: a private-school boy whose Scottish father, Leo, was a self-made man and banker in northeast England with political ambitions of his own—for the Tories. A stroke when he was in his early 40s ended those hopes, but Leo Blair remained a card-carrying Conservative until 1992, when he finally switched to his son's party. His Oxford-educated son was steered into Labour politics by prominent London lawyer Derry Irvine and, in 1983, Blair fought off five competitors for the safe Labour seat he still holds today. But he always chafed at the slow pace of party reforms. When Labour leader John Smith died suddenly of a heart attack in May 1994, Blair seized the moment to run for the top job as the candidate from the party's so-called moderate wing. By July, Blair was leader, and he quickly showed his own party what they were in for. In a well-planned campaign, he won a party-wide referendum to overturn Clause IV of the Labour constitution, which committed it to secure for workers "the full fruits of their labour on the basis of common ownership."

"It was a democratic process every step of the way, so no one can say that the Labour rank and file haven't changed," says Colin Thompson, a former radical socialist in Blair's riding, who says his own political credo has "just changed." After downgrading old socialist remains in the ranks, still available in reports for what Thompson describes as "that old man and gown." Many others quit the party—all to Blair's barely concealed delight. Labour's elder statesman, Roy Hattersley, complains that the party is "seriously near to regarding conflict with long-serving activists as a public relations bonus." But Blair remains unmoved, last week mocking any anti-Labourites for "rumormongering that old socialist time from 50, 60 years ago."

Blair and scrapping Clause IV "showed me what I intuitively thought but wasn't sure of: that the party was actually behind change"—and a revolution followed. Over the next three years, he moved his positions until there was no daylight between Labour and the Tories on two issues where Labour had always been most vulnerable: economics and crime. The new Labour embraces free markets and signs deals with business leaders. And he was not a dreamer but order and measure: the Tories could introduce that did not enjoy Blair's support.

The Labour makeover against Blair to accusations that he was a political chameleon with no core beliefs, comparable to U.S. President Bill Clinton. Blair counters that he is more of a realist, who believes in a new path to a just society. "The principles of the Labour Party are its values: the beliefs in a fair deal for ordinary people, social justice, progress," he told interviewer David Frost late in the campaign. "But the way to do that is not to go a few more people at the top and give a few more pounds in benefit to people at the bottom." The senior Blair believes, less a commitment for all by exploring educational standards, which concretely was



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Singapore

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World NOTES

DEEP BLUE: THE REMATCH

Fourteen months after beating an IBM computer named Deep Blue in a landmark chess tournament, world chess champion Garry Kasparov sat down again to play with the machine's upgraded successor. The two were set to play six games over three days in New York City for a prize of nearly \$1 million. "The computer is better," commented women's champion Susan Polgar, "but Garry is also better."

SIEGE IN TEXAS

A weeklong standoff by Texas separatists ended after the leader, his wife and several followers surrendered to police. Richard McLawin, 43, self-styled head of the Republic of Texas secessionist movement, was among those who turned themselves in peacefully. The group had been holed up in a house in the west Texas mountains, 275 km southwest of El Paso.

CHELSEA PICKS STANFORD

After checking out by League colleges, U.S. President Bill Clinton's daughter, Chelsea, chose California's Stanford University to attend next fall. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton recently said Chelsea, 17, favored a career in medicine, for which Stanford is noted.

HONG KONG PLEDGES

There will be no Tiananmen-style crackdown in Hong Kong after its return to China on July 1, its future chief said. "Tung Chee-hwa told a TV interviewer that 'demonstration is part of our culture—they will be free to demonstrate as they please.'" Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, earlier, said Hong Kong would retain an autonomy "unmatched in the world."

EGYPTIAN SANDSTORMS

Fierce sandstorms engulfed Egypt, blinding drivers, grounding planes and killing at least 22 people. The storms, with winds reaching 95 km/h, were described as the worst in 50 years.

JONBENET'S PARENTS TALK

The parents of murdered six-year-old beauty queen JonBenet Ramsey broke a long silence to insist that they had nothing to do with the Dec. 26 killing. John and Patricia Ramsey held a tightly controlled news conference after giving separate interviews to police in Boulder, Colo. Prosecutors said they were the "focus" of the investigation.



FREE AT LAST:

Quebec City businessman Trish Trish Quin is reunited with his wife, My Thia Nguyen, at Toronto's Pearson airport after being imprisoned in his native Vietnam for three years. Now a Canadian citizen, Trish was sentenced to 20 years in jail for fraud after he arrived in Vietnam to check on a missing cotton shipment he had arranged. The American shapper, who was paid \$1.4 million, disappeared. An Quebec City resident rallied to Trish's cause—\$4,999 signed a petition—Quin asked Hanoi to free him. As part of his "humanitarian" release, he paid \$149,660 and promised to try to come up with the remaining \$1.28 million.

Sex, rape and the U.S. military

A drill instructor at a U.S. army base in Maryland was convicted of raping six female trainees at a sex scandal that has rocked the American military. Staff Sgt. Delmar Simpson, a 32-year-old native of South Carolina, was convicted of 18 counts of rape by a military jury of five men and one woman at the Aberdeen Proving Ground. Simpson faces up to life in prison, while a separate sentencing phase of the trial begins this week.

Prosecutors portrayed Simpson as an aggressive sexual predator who victimized defense trainees under his authority. But defense lawyers argued that the women involved had agreed to have sex. The army's contention was that under a concept known as "constructive force," the unequal relationship between an instructor and trainee meant that Simpson could be found guilty of rape even if he did not use a weapon or threaten his victims.

The trial revealed widespread sexual activity at the Aberdeen base, with drill sergeants contending to have sex with as many recruits as possible. Eleven other instructors there face charges, and more face proceedings at other bases around the country. Pentagon officials worry that the publicity could affect their ability to recruit female soldiers. There are now about 360,000 women in the 1.4 million member U.S. military, about 15 percent of the force.

Mandela's Zaire peace talks are all at sea

A South African President Nelson Mandela attempted to broker shipboard peace talks on Zaire, rebel leader Laurent Kabila moved his forces closer to Kinshasa, the capital. The talks stalled initially after Kabila, citing safety concerns, refused to fly to the South African naval ship, a former Russian icebreaker docked at Pointe Noire, Congo. On Saturday, officials said Zairian strongman Mobutu Sese Sese would board the ship only after Kabila. Meanwhile, the United Nations prepared to shift some 40,000 Rwandan Hutu refugees from war-torn eastern Zaire. Foreign governments have accused Kabila's forces of committing atrocities against the refugees.

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Open season

The CRTC clears the way for war in the phone business

BY ROSS LAVER

There was a time, not long ago, when the telephone business was as boring and predictable as they come. Heavily regulated and unencumbered by competition in these home markets, major phone companies enjoyed a steady stream of healthy profits. The only real choice confronting consumers was the color of their phone. No longer. Turn on a television anywhere in Canada and some scrappy long-distance firm is sure to be sniffing for new customers, with colorful drilling plans and celebrity endorsements. And the battle for subscribers has just begun: In a breathtaking set of rulings, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission last week threw the doors open to wider competition, promising a telecommunications revolution. "These decisions," said CRTC chairman Philippe Bertrand, "will have a direct and profound impact, not only economically, socially and culturally, but also in most people's homes and their lives."

The CRTC ruling, badly anticipated for months, went further than many in the industry had expected. Rather than a predicted Jan. 1, 1998, start-up date, the agency said that competition in the \$8-billion-a-year local phone sector can begin immediately—although it must take months before the first original local phone companies are ready to do business. Next Jan. 1 will mark another milestone: the point at which Canada's phone giants will be allowed to enter the \$3-billion-a-year cable television business, another industry that has always been shielded from competition.

In effect, the CRTC has drawn the lines for almost war among the traditional phone companies, the cable-TV industry and a growing band of little startups such as MetroNet Communications Corp. of Calgary and Call-Net Local Services Group Inc. of Toronto, an offshoot of long-distance provider Sprint Canada Inc. "The local market is a great opportunity," said Philip Bates, president of Call-Net Local Services. His company plans to enter the local phone market by the middle of next year, challenging the existing phone monopolies. "We expect to compete aggressively and fight to keep customers," vowed Nick Mulder, president of Senior Telecom Policy Inc., an arm of Canada's 11 regional phone companies. "Competition is good for customers and leads to drive down prices over time."



Telephone central offices: competition is around the corner

Perhaps not right away, however. In fact, for most Canadians, the first result of last week's decision will be an increase in their local phone bills. In its ruling, the CRTC said that monthly rates for basic service, which have increased by an average of 62 in each of the past two years, will be allowed to rise again next Jan. 1 by about \$3. That decision was condemned by the Ottawa-based Public Interest Advocacy Centre. "Consumers are going to pay more to get competition, and that seems perverse in our view," said Philipp Lawson, a lawyer for the organization.

Many Canadians would agree, but the problem facing the CRTC is that, without higher local charges, there will be little incentive for new suppliers to enter the market. Canadians now pay some of the lowest local rates in the world, ranging from \$16 to \$23 a month. In most cases, the price does not reflect the cost of local service, so phone companies subsidize that side of their business with profits from long distance. Long-distance competitors also contribute to the cost of local service, paying the major phone companies about two cents for every minute they bill their customers. Last week, the CRTC branched out at its current level, raising the fee of some long-distance providers. "Once again, the big phone companies are being insulated from the full impact of competition," said George Harbato, an executive with ACC TeleEnterprises Ltd. of Toronto.

By raising rates, Ottawa is trying to reduce the subsidy while at the same time local service remains affordable. After the \$3 increase takes effect, the prices charged by phone companies for local service will be regulated for four years, with increases effectively limited to the rate of inflation. At the same time, the CRTC is developing a new levy on cellular calls, with the proceeds to be distributed among companies that offer service in rural and remote areas.

Down the road, the CRTC says, almost every Canadian will reap the rewards of phone and cable deregulation. According to Bertrand, more than 80 per cent of the country's 11.5 million phone subscribers are already benefiting from long-distance rate reductions,

for example, is spending \$250 million to install underground fibre-optic lines in downtown Calgary. Vancouver, Edmonton, Toronto and Montreal. MetroNet's strategy is to go for a high-volume, one-personic clients, offering phone service with high-speed data transmission. "Any company that says we're going to be all things to all people overreach a just crazy," said telecommunications consultant Ian Angus. Phil Lind, vice-chairman of the country's biggest cable company, Rogers Communications Inc., said his firm will also chase business phone customers. "People will be wondering where the ducks are. Obviously, we're going after the market that looks most attractive to us in terms of prices are high and our entry level [costs] are low."

In opening the local phone market, the CRTC is following an example set last year by the U.S. Congress, which passed a sweeping telecommunications law designed to break down longstanding industry barriers. But even there, phone companies have shown little desire to court competition—as per se because of the billions of dollars necessary to install new residential networks. As a result, Federal Communications Commission chairman Reed Hundt is preparing an overhaul of the country's phone charges. The new rate structure is intended to make it less attractive for competitors to cherry-pick business customers while leaving traditional phone companies to serve everyone else.

In Canada, too, the regional phone companies worry that new competitors will claim off the most profitable portion of the market. A day before the CRTC ruling, Montreal-based BCE Inc.—parent of Bell Canada—warned that its future profit growth depends on the extent to which it is freed from having to provide below-cost local service. "Clearly, competition and the obligation to serve at prices below cost are incompatible," said BCE chairman Lorne (Red) Wilson. "Something we have to grow." BCE officials later welcomed the fact that phone companies will not be required to lease lines to new entrants at wholesale prices. But the overall impact of competition remains unclear. "There's all kinds of little rules here," said Bernard Courville, Bell's group vice-president for regulatory affairs. "Things like how you exchange traffic, who pays for what. It really has to figure all that out before I can get an overall picture."

For cable companies as well, deregulation is fraught with risk. The industry already faces competition from direct-to-home satellites. In the past three months, two ITC companies have begun to offer limited service, while a third will launch in September. And last week, a subsidiary of Vancouver-based WIC Western International Communications Inc. inaugurated the first phase of a planned wireless network based on a two-way digital technology known as "local multipoint communications systems" (LMCS). Like cellular telephones, LMCS uses a network of small transmitters spaced a few kilometres apart, making it far cheaper than a conventional phone or cable network. WIC, which is licensed to operate in 33 communities across Canada, will offer phone service as well as TV programming and Internet access.

That is just one of a myriad of new services that promise to redefine the once-unshakable telecommunications industry. Mulder points out that as recently as 15 years ago, Canadians were not allowed to buy their own phones. Now, the communications landscape is changing so dramatically that even phone company executives are not sure what to expect.

By JOHN SCHWELDT in Toronto

RULES FOR A NEW ERA

The CRTC is taking a number of steps to safeguard the rights of consumers in competitive local phone markets.

1. All local service providers will be required to maintain emergency 911 and special message-relay services for the deaf and hard of hearing.

2. Existing phone companies must continue to provide free directories to their own subscribers, including listing information for customers of new entrants.

3. People who charge telephone companies will be able to keep their existing numbers.

4. New competitors will be bound by protection-of-privacy rules that prohibit existing phone companies from selling information on their customers' calling patterns.

5. Owners of apartment buildings will be allowed to choose their local phone company even if the landlord strikes a bulk deal with one company.

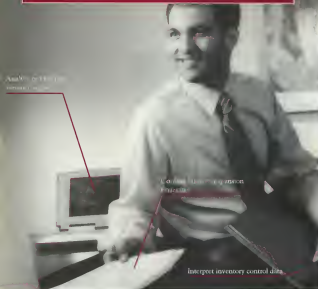


Key players: Communications CEO Phil Rogers, Bertrand (center), Wilson (right) and Angus

which took effect after that market was pried open in 2003. In the future, customers will also be able to shop around for the best local phone deals. Some might make their selection purely on the basis of price, while others might consider what company offers an all-in-one telecommunications package—local, long-distance and mobile service, as well as cable-TV and Internet access—that best meets their needs. Said Mulder: "That's the kind of thing we've been pushing for: one-stop shopping and getting customers to deal with one company that delivers a variety of products."

The real question is how soon the new era will arrive. At the outset, most of the industry's attention will be focused on business customers, who pay substantially higher rates than residential users and data represent a more lucrative market. Calgary's MetroNet,

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The Bottom Line

A sense of uncertainty

Politicians and politicians, like the nervous parents of a salient adolescent, are greatly considering the mood of Canadian voters. They observe a certain crankiness, and they are trying to find out how to win over a disgruntled public. In the 1997 federal election campaign began.

Despite the rosy economic forecasts, despite the constant assurances that we are on the cusp of renewed prosperity, rising Canadians are contending with declining real personal incomes, record personal debts and insecure employment. There may be progress to lead in the current economic situation.

But Canadians do not grasp that. Rather, there is a widespread feeling that, both individually and nationally, things are out of control.

The end of a century has historically generated widespread uncertainty—something a new millennium only exacerbates. But there is also a more specific contributing factor: the Liberals' ongoing deconstruction of Big Government. Ottawa's traditional roles, including the provision of essential services and the smoothing out of social inequalities, have been outsourced and downsized almost beyond recognition.

There are several key economic areas in which Canadians have seen control slip away. For example, while free trade and information technology have brought benefits to the domestic economy, they have also enabled a high pace. Corporations, more interested than ever on gaining a competitive advantage, have laid off thousands and shifted work to low-cost labor offshore. That has overruled the implicit bargain that has existed between labor and management.

It has also begun to compromise many of our shared social values. Canada has human rights codes and labor laws. And when global trade multinational companies beat those rules with plants in Asia or Latin America, a crucial control over established North American social standards.

Shuttling, domestic control of monetary policy has been greatly reduced by international capital markets. Canadians have seen

fixed a great deal to lower public deficits and reclaim control over the economy from foreign creditors. As a reward, interest rates have fallen to 55-year lows. But it has become increasingly clear that much of that good may be the result of events beyond Canada's control. The Federal Reserve Board has recently increased U.S. interest rates. And in order to preserve foreign investment in Canada and to maintain a stable dollar, the Bank of Canada faces pressure to raise rates—despite the bank's public commitment to try to keep rates down.

Unemployment, and the government's failure to address it, has also contributed to a sense that Canada has lost control over its own welfare. Despite assurances from public- and private-sector economists that new jobs are being created, corporate layoffs continue. Those who have jobs are working harder to pick up the slack.

More than nine per cent of the population is unemployed—and often desperate. Last month, 2,000 people banded up overnight to apply for 20 positions at a Procter & Gamble plant in Beltsville, Ont. Even more alarming, almost 17 per cent of people between the ages of 15 and 24 are unemployed. A recent Statistics Canada study reported that, in 1996, one in five people under 25 had no job experience—double the figure in 1980.

As well, through their record level of mutual fund investments, Canadians have unprecedented exposure to volatile financial markets. Recent surveys indicate that few expect any federal pension benefits to be left by the time they retire. That has led to more emphasis on individual saving. But money markets have only fostered a sense of uncertainty and lack of control.

True to the favored 90s buzzwords of big business, governments have successfully re-engineered, deregulating and downsizing wherever possible. But while the bottom line in business is profits, in politics it is people. And as candid voters grapple with uneasy voters, the real question may be whether less is still more.



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Business NOTES

OVERDUE DILIGENCE

Freeport-McMoran Copper and Gold Inc. of New Orleans extended its examination of Bio-X Mineral Ltd.'s Basing property in Indonesia until June 30, two months longer than planned. The extension will allow Freeport to study loans by Toronto-based Shiffrons Mineral Services, aimed at verifying Bio-X's original estimates of 70 million ounces of gold.

A BIG HIT IN NEW YORK

Bombardier Inc. of Montreal landed a \$1.3-billion contract to build 680 subway cars for New York City. The deal is expected to create 650 jobs in Quebec. New York posted Bombardier to make 825 subway cars in 1992, helping to transform the snowmobile manufacturer into a transportation giant.

PROZAC PUNCH-OUT

Drug giant Eli Lilly Canada said it may appeal a Federal Court decision that gave generic drug companies the right to continue selling versions of Prozac, the lucrative antidepressant drug. The court said generic drug makers have the right to make medications in a similar size, shape and color as the brand-name equivalents.

ANOTHER BLOW FOR APPLE

Larry Ellison, chairman of software giant Oracle Corp., abandoned a bid to buy Apple Computer Inc. in March. Ellison announced he was forming an investor group to consider buying the beleaguered company.

GM'S ELECTRIC BLUES

General Motors Corp. slashed the cost of leasing its EV1 electric car by 25 per cent, citing poor demand. The new lease rate will be \$389 (U.S.), down from \$520 (U.S.). Launched last fall, the car is sold only in California and Arizona. The 176 people who already lease EV1s will get the lower rate.

CANADA CHASTISED

The European Union ordered Ottawa for breaching an "informal agreement" to challenge the U.S. Helms-Burton Act under the North American Free Trade Agreement. EU trade commissioner Sir Leon Brittan said European nations were helping to Canada for help in their fight against the act-Cuba law, but have been let down.

Black battles for respect

Canard Black wants a little more respect from U.S. investors. The Canadian press baron vowed that he will use "fire and sword" to boost the lagging share price of Hollinger International Inc., the Chicago-based company that owns most of Black's newspapers. Evidently beleaguered by the company's complex financial manoeuvres, many investors have passed Hollinger by. The company's shares closed last week at \$10.37 (U.S.), about 25-per-cent less than their value when Hollinger went public four years ago. "I do promise you that we are taking a series of measures that will maximize value for remaining shareholders," Black assured investors at the company's annual meeting in New York City. If the share price fails to rise soon, he said, Hollinger will begin to buy back its stock "in substantial amounts."

To help streamline operations and gain access to Southern's cash flow, Black launched a \$925-million bid for complete control of



Black promising to jump up Hollinger's shares

Southern Inc., but warned potential holders that he will go no higher. Black's Hollinger Inc. already owns 51 per cent of Southern, the country's largest newspaper chain. "It's a particularly fair offer," he said of the \$23.50-a-share bid. "We control this company now." Meanwhile, Southern announced its intention to buy the tabloid Halifax Daily News for an undisclosed amount, giving Black 59 of Canada's 105 dailies.

Eaton's to close stores

After keeping employees in suspense for a week, Eaton's sounded the death knell for 18 of its 85 stores. (Another 13 are under review.) Seven stores, in such cities as Victoria, Richmond, Ont., and Surrey, B.C., will close on June 30. Eleven more outlets, including locations in Dorchester, N.S., Winnipeg and Edmonton, will shut next Feb. 28. The closures

could eliminate more than 3,000 full- and part-time jobs. Some employees broke into tears as they heard the news. "Toronto retail analyst John Winter slammed Eaton's for not acting faster. 'If the [stores] are bleeding as badly as Eaton's is indicating, they should be shutting them all,'" Federated Department Stores Inc., the largest U.S. department store chain, is expected to be interested in buying the remnants of the Eaton empire.

FINANCIAL OUTLOOK

Mortgage rates fell slightly and stock prices rose as analysts cheered a proposed deal to bail out the U.S. federal budget by 2002. In Canada and the United

States hit a record high in March. Forty-four per cent of the business executives surveyed said they expect the economy to strengthen over the next six months.

Business Confidence Index (1991=100)



"Investors' newfound confidence is a bell that the 1990s low-inflation paradigm will persist. The problem is that prior periods of accelerating growth were accompanied by accelerating inflation."

—Scott Stank

"The consumer is back! For the second month in a row, wholesale trade sales went up per cent and in the growth decade among all industries with a 12.5-per-cent year-over-year gain."

—Hester Byrne



Peter C. Newman

The life and death of Bay Street's guru

Andy Sarlos, who died last week of heart failure at 65, was no typical Bay Street trader. During the three decades he dominated Canadian financial markets, he operated according to his own rules and in his own discretion. There was no one remotely like him. He paid more attention to the long arc of history than to the sports and pulses of the Dow, valued friendship above profit, and became the undisputed Canadian financial guru of his generation. "His contacts were phenomenal," recalls insider MacKay, who worked for him. "Before joining Sarlos, I had run the largest U.S. dollar account in Canada for 14 years and always got the first call from Wall Street. But after a week in Andy's office, I realized how business was really done. He could call literally anybody, and they'd all wings off his back. Fast."

Sarlos was not the richest investor in the country, because he was a born gambler and enjoyed losing almost as much as winning. "If I was right all the time," he once told me, "he wouldn't be any fun. It is the risk that makes the market an exciting place to be." But he knew how to play the odds, and in 1977 alone the value of stock in his investment trust, HCL Holdings Ltd., more than tripled. At one point, so many people wanted to buy shares in his firm that trading on the TSX had to be halted for four hours. He seemed to be in on every deal that counted. In one transaction involving the Hiram Walker Company's Gas merger, Sarlos's syndicate walked away with a \$25 million profit.

Life happened as he pleased. "What's Andy up to?" everybody wanted to know. In the wine bars and private clubs that ring Toronto's brokerage houses, the talk was often about the source of his market insight. Why was this diminutive Hungarian whose Establishment credentials were often considered by just about every big player in the country? Why did the likes of Peter Munk, Conrad Black, Peter Brundin, the Reichmansteins, the Rylovs, Trevor Ryton, and many others of equal rank so eagerly make a manager game without seeking his input?

The answer was simple. He gave advice the way a priest assigns absolution—freely, and with no hidden agenda. That was what set him apart from Sarlos, whose contact with him usually means leverage that can yield fees, big ones. "He was a giant of a man," Munk said of him last week. "A real prince who never said an evil word about anybody, and was more interested in making money for others than for himself. He was also very skewed—on a human level, twice as skewed as George Soros. I can't even say how much I respect him, personally and in business."

To know him was to trust him. "Andy's Number One with me," declared Gus Van Wageningen, chief of CIBC's risk management. "I don't mind giving Andy my checkbook any time. I'd even show him how

to sign my name." As his network widened, Sarlos became a genuine philanthropist, making significant donations to several Canadian universities. After the fall of Hungary's Communist regime in 1989, he helped revive the economy of his former homeland, in addition the founding of a bank, department store, newspaper and the country's first modern shopping centre.

Playing the market, he always went to the source, frequently visiting rigs in the field and talking to the magnificently actually brilliant for oil. He was a keen student of human psychology and knew that CEOs of companies under threat of takeovers often don't act rationally but on the basis of stress. Despite his gentle manner, Sarlos knew when to speak in the hall. "Good traders," he maintained, "only on what they hear, great traders assimilate the facts, then act on the basis of their gut instincts and sheer nerve. Both are as important as brains."

A Hungarian by birth and persuasion, Sarlos shared the national trait of being impossible to stop, once moving in a desired direction. He loved Canada and was an incurable romantic. The son of a Budapest grain trader, he was drafted into the Hungarian air force, and arrested by the occupying Communist forces in 1952 for trying to defect to Yugoslavia. His subsequent year-long imprisonment changed his life. "Death seemed a better alternative than life," he recalled, "because the guards always made you believe you'd be meeting the next morning, and many of us were."

Sarlos later fought with distinction in the failed 1956 Hungarian Revolution, fled to Austria, and eventually landed, with no money or prospects, in Canada. After studying to be a chartered accountant, he spent nine years in Labrador with Bechtel Canada. Then, he worked on the Churchill Falls power project before moving on to Bay Street.

During the past decade, Sarlos continued to trade, but his role was more advisory. "Check it out with Andy," became the Street's way of saying whenever a big deal was coming down. Sarlos never let up, though he suffered from increasingly serious heart trouble, undergoing two major operations, and was twice declared clinically dead.

He lived modestly with Mary, his American-born wife, in a spacious but not extravagant house in the largely middle-class Toronto suburb of Dan Mills. There was, Peter, 30, as a computer geek.

The dignified and superbly organized way he died was typical of the man. On April 28, as he was leaving his Toronto office, he asked his partner, Hal Jones, to close all his futures positions. He was so weak he could hardly walk, but insisted on taking part that evening in a conference call board meeting of Munk's Trizec-Hahn real estate company, via his bedside telephone. Two days later, he layed into a coma from which he never recovered. The previous week he had dined with Munk at the Toronto Club, and told him, "I am totally at peace with myself. I've had more fun than I deserved."

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DEADLY LIAISONS

SPECIAL REPORT

BY CHRIS WOOD and PAUL KAHILA

An RCMP informant tells of her life inside a brutal drug ring

At midline of year, the fifth round, Abbotsford, B.C., newspaper for judges that caught the fat lead in purple and yellow and blood red. But last fall, the blood was real and the sun on this quiet farming community was dark. In the hours leading up to Sept. 14, 1995, two men walked into a white stucco farmhouse not far from the Fraser River with orders to settle an old score. They did their work with stunning brutality, leaving three bodies behind in the farmhouse and two more in a nearby shed. Shocked police speculated that the killings were drug-related. In fact, that was directly true of only two of the murders.

"It was the owner and her husband who were supposed to be killed," says a young mother who emerged last week from a bizarre double life as both an RCMP informant and a confidante to a major crime figure. The three other victims, said Tami Marreese, 26, were simply in the "wrong place at the wrong time." Now, she breaks in the mob's line of fire—Marreese, her two children, her common-law husband and her brother have been relocated and given new names and identities under the federal Witness Protection Program. Police expect her to be a key Crown witness at a series of murder and drug trials.

The omegas of the gang murder in Abbotsford, B.C. a spruce of other crimes across Canada. In a C-11, Colorado-based cocaine trafficking conspiracy first disclosed in detail in Maclean's March 20 cover story. Last June, the RCMP boasted that its investigation of the syndicate had netted the hefty one of its largest drug seizures ever—more than 400 kilos of cocaine hidden in shipments of clothes and craps. But the Marreese have struggled to keep a tight lid on other aspects of the case and the gang's role, not only in the Abbotsford massacre but also in the contract killings of two RCMP informants, Toronto Abbotson in Montreal and Eugene Uryman in Vancouver. In fact, Marreese has learned, the organization is responsible for more than a dozen, possibly as many as two-dozen, murders in Canada, including the



■ Tami Marreese: a daughter's dangerous quest to free her father

August, 1996, shooting of former speed-riding champion Terry Wills in Vancouver. And Marreese, a primary police source in at least nine of the homicides, was the RCMP's main pacifier into a Vancouver cell under the C-11 case's control.

In more than eight hours of interviews with Marreese, she revealed her role in the RCMP investigation—which has so far cost \$12 million—and how she infiltrated the organization's Vancouver leadership. Her case, and the RCMP's investigation of the drug-trafficking conspiracy, have raised disturbing questions about the Marreese's treatment and protection of informants and the force's slowness in laying charges.

Marreese says that her role as an undercover informant had its roots in her personal quest for justice. She has fond memories of growing up in the 1970s in middle-class comfort in suburban Burnaby, B.C.—and of her father, Sal Marreese, a Vancouver plumbing contractor and entrepreneur. "He was always there for us," she recalled. "My father was my hero."

That happy childhood ended abruptly in 1983, when Tami was just 13. Her parents were in the middle of a messy divorce when a driver named Scott Forsyth shot and killed 73-year-old Joe Phillips, a Vancouver nightclub owner with underworld connections who had promised buying crutches for her father. Weeks later, Vancouver police charged Sal Marreese with planning the crime.

The following year, a jury found both men guilty of first-degree murder—and Marreese, now 33, was sentenced to life in prison with no eligibility for parole for 20 years. But he has consistently denied any involvement in the crime, and for six years, his daughter has waged a tireless legal and public relations campaign to overturn that verdict. It's a 1992 application to the federal justice department seeking a review of her father's conviction under Section 690 of the Criminal Code. Tami Marreese alleged questionable police practices during the original investigation

■ Tami Marreese:
"They talked about killing
like it was nothing"

and claimed that new evidence would show that he had been framed.

This source of new evidence was in arrears, noted Sal when Marinore landed in 1993 while waiting for father at Florida Institution—a beautifully landscaped minimum-security prison near Vancouver. Inmates and guards, with dirty blond hair, had teeth and a jack-o'-lantern face. Sal would have introduced her to a world of death and drugs. He was wearing the end of a four-year sentence handed down after he and an accomplice stole a transport truck cab and engaged police in a running gun battle in 1980. And according to Marinore, he volunteered that he was related to the murdered Phillips—and asserted that it was an open secret in the family that Sal Marinore had been "the patsy" in a clan power struggle.

But on Oct. 28, 1995, the department of justice rejected Sal Marinore's application for a new trial, and has requested for a new investigation of the 1983 murder. The decision by Justice Minister Allan Rock runs to 75 pages. Government lawyers had contacted Sal, who was by then out of prison and running an auto body shop in Vancouver, but he denied making statements about Marinore's innocence. Thus Marinore says he later apologized to her, saying he could not betray his relatives to the authorities. In desperation, she decided to turn the record into something his earlier assertions: "I thought if I can get him on tape and take it to Radio, they're going to have to do something," she says.

By then, though, other events that would rock Marinore's world were already in play. That fall, the Mounties had received a tip from one of their informants in Montreal, a Colombian trafficker named Ernesto Albornoz, that a Mafia organization in Montreal was dispatching pick-ups—known as *coches*—to pick up a large shipment of cocaine from the Cal-controlled cell in Vancouver. Albornoz was interviewed by the RCMP to the seizure of 270 kilos of coke, about \$800,000 in cash and an A8-39 assault rifle in the last week of September, 1995. Two handlers were arrested, but a handful of other traffickers were merely released and released. One of them, Enrique Uyeysman, decided to "roll over" and become an RCMP informant.

In fact, Uyeysman—Mr. Sal—was a deputy leader of the Vancouver organization headed by a shy lawyer representative of the Cal-controlled Carlos. And in October, 1995, the Vancouver press, the RCMP a tip that would lead to the cocaine and props seizures the following year—ships that were purchased from the cartel by the Montreal mob, that the houses in Colombia suspected links in the Canadian end of their operations and dispatched investigators to conduct a security review. On Dec. 21, Uyeysman and his wife of two months, Michelle, were torched, strangled to death and then set on fire near their Vancouver home. Three months later, Alberta was shot to death in his Montreal apartment.

Sal had been out of town at the time of the Uyeysman hit. But when he returned on the coast shortly after Christmas, Marinore



Phillips, March 31 Maclean's (left), breaking the story of a murderous organization controlled by Cal

sought him out. He was pleased to renew their acquaintance at a local restaurant, where Marinore asked him why he had been out of town. "He said, 'A couple of people had to be taken out and I'd been around. I'd have been a suspect,'" she recalls. The explanation struck fear into the young woman. "I thought, what am I getting myself into?"

Over the next several weeks, Marinore says she continued to meet Sal and court his trust. At least one friend, unaware of her covert activity, concluded that Marinore, who lived with her common-law husband, Claudio Chénier, was having an affair. A critical turning point came when Sal offered to pay her to help count the gang's money. On one night, Marinore says, she helped count \$6.6 million in cash. "Money to me is everything," she says. "When I was trusted with their money, I was trusted with their lives."

By the time spring turned into summer, the gang's trust in Marinore was nearly complete. That it was true that carried a high price tag. Marinore realized that her earlier plans to tape Sal's evidence about her father on her own had been dangerously naive. If she ever was discovered using the tape, she said, "I knew I would be dead. By this point, I'm at my wits' end."

Then, in late June, Canadian officials, acting on a tip from the Los Angeles police, staged a raid of the gang's cars as it returned across the border from an aborted drug buy in Los Angeles. After a search, the RCMP seized \$800,000 in American bills in a hidden compartment. On July 5, 1996, with Sal and a Chinese-Canadian accomplice following her in another car, Marinore drove her gold 1984 BMW to the RCMP's Vancouver headquarters to file a claim to recover the money on the gang's behalf. Once inside the building, however, a nervous Marinore abandoned the tale the gang had concocted for her about carrying the money in stock dolls. Instead, she told the police the truth: "I think they were pretty surprised," she says now. The Mounties were also initially skeptical. For the next several weeks, two officers kept in discreet touch with her, while her background and tape were checked.

Meanwhile, Marinore's information (LOS 02/03/96) crisis continued. She spent time at the waste body shop where Sal and others held secret compartments into cars to conceal drugs and money. She became incensed at hearing murder discussed as a normal course of business. "They talked about killing like it was nothing," she recalls. And, she says, she heard frequent and troubling references to the influence that drug money could buy. Often, she says, Sal and his associates boasted that "they've got police and judges and politicians on the payroll."

Marinore says that Sal came to view her as his girlfriend. "I led him to believe there were problems between me and Claudio," she says. "We'd hold hands." But, she recalls, "we never slept together; OK? Even so, the sex was extremely passionate and controlling. 'If we were out at a restaurant,' she says, "I had to sit on the inside of his leg, not the outside. I was considered his woman." She also became a regular visitor at the \$200,000 duplex occupied by Sal's sister on a cul-de-sac in Coquitlam.

By August, Marinore was convinced proof that the gang did more than just talk about murder. One evening, she sat in the duplex's kitchen and watched Sal washing a pistol and bullets in vinegar. The acid, he explained, would obscure fingerprints at the weapon. The gun was put in a bag and hidden. Four days later, Vancouver police found the body of a man near alone six miles from 41, in a parked rental car in Vancouver's Chinatown after passively complained at a dual offer coming from the group. Was, Marinore says, "worked with [Sal's] people a few years ago, and ripped them off." The amount: half-million dollars. More recently, Sal had been living in Vancouver but, desperate for cash, was lured back to Canada by the Vancouver gang with the promise of another deal. Says Marinore: "They brought Terry back specifically to kill him."

The Watts murder, which Marinore says she did not know about in advance, sharply heightened the RCMP's interest in her. She continued to work for parties in her handlers, although she did not sign a contract that would make her an official RCMP informant. But as the summer of

1996 slipped away, the RCMP became increasingly convinced of her credibility. The conviction was cemented when Marinore reported to her RCMP handlers that Sal had been in Abbotsford around the time that Sonia Groves, 56, her 70-year-old husband, Raymond, and 37-year-old son, Gerald Saugha, as well as Barry and Theresa Klassen, both 30, were murdered. Those killings, says Marinore, were also in retaliation for an unpaid drug debt—the Groves owed Carlos \$500,000.

Then on Sept. 20, Sal was named without preamble that Marinore was going to marry him. Her consent was taken for granted. Two days later, Sal's Chinese-Canadian partner acted as best man and his sister served as maid of honor in a strained wedding ceremony held at the duplex. "I was vibrating, my knees were shaking," remembers Marinore. On the street outside, police "arrest" a wedding reception, so-called because their official designation in Special Operations is "Secret Ops"—kept watch. The following night, Sal consummated the marriage in characteristic mob fashion: "He handcuffed me in a bed and I was violently raped," says Marinore.

Hours later, Marinore signed an RCMP informant contract and was flown to Ottawa for a week's rest. Her sudden absence heightened suspicion—the fact Sal said that she used to carry for a mob crime—and provoked arguments with her sister. While in the capital, she also spent in writing her best reflections of her contacts with the gang in the previous weeks. When she returned, her unexpected career as an undercover agent moved into high gear. Over the next seven weeks, she met almost daily with her RCMP handlers, who had placed taps on doors of the gang's phones. Most meetings took place late at night in the Delta Stratford hotel, less than five minutes by car from the tree-shaded bungalow that Marinore continued to share with

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DeLuzani and their children

When her own car was up for repairs, she borrowed vehicles belonging to the gang—and delivered them to RCMP technicians to be fitted with electronic bugs and tracking devices. On other occasions, she let the floor plans of gang members' residences so that RCMP surveillance could enter surreptitiously and plant trace bugs. In all, she says, the Moores recorded thousands of hours of secret discussions among the mobsters.

It was risky, frightening time. "I was in danger 24 hours a day," Moore says now. On several occasions, she recalls, gang members made it clear that "if I ever tried to leave the organization, they would kill me and my family." She knew it was not an idle threat—during that time she discovered that the gang had also been involved in the Upsilon-psi anti-Vietnam murders. Anti-Sal hostess at parties personally been involved in "a couple of dozen" murders, including a hit where he killed a mob, his lover and her 19-year-old son. "When he talks about killing, his whole demeanor changes," she says. "I think he enjoys it." On one occasion, he described a Mexican friend feeling when he "puts tape over [victim's] mouth and listens to them try to scream."

The end came just before Bismarck. Day Concerned that the gang's suspicions about her were growing, Moore's RCMP has been called an end to her undercover career on Nov. 9, 1986. She telephoned DeLuzani from a downtown Vancouver hotel in the middle of the night, and he reused the couple's two children, both of them under 16, packed a few belongings and fled the family house. The next day they entered the federal Witness Protection Program with new names. By then, Moore says, the RCMP possessed ample evidence of the cell's links to overkill in Colombia, its large-scale cocaine smuggling by sea and land, and nine of the gang's murders in Vancouver and Montreal.

'When I was trusted with their money, I was trusted with their lives'

Ex-gangster and Michele Goyens: 'taking over'—and paying the price

She had also provided them with the prime suspect in the Altheim murders. The man she calls Bobby is a 43-year-old career criminal and native of Victoria who has been in and out of jail since 1972. In Vancouver in 1973, he was sentenced to 15 years in prison on three counts of attempted murder. Released early, he received another 10-year sentence in Montreal in 1980—this time for conspiracy to commit robbery. His criminal history prompted a H.C. Supreme Court judge to tell Bobby that he had a "disastrous record involving criminal violence." The judge imposed a life sentence for a 1981-82 bank robbery in Surrey "not a step to your present predatory activities for as long as possible."

As long as possible turned out to be six years. Bobby received day parole in September, 1986. He lived in an Abbotsford halfway house during the week, and stayed at Sal's Coquitlam home on weekends. A year before the murders at the farmstead, police in neighbouring Matsigen charged him with drunk and dangerous driving and with leaving the scene of an accident. According to Moore, Sal told her—in a conversation recorded by devices planted by the police—that he hired Bobby and an accomplice, Mark, to carry out the slayings. She also says that police discovered that the killers made telephone calls from the farm at the estimated time of the murders to Sal's cell phone and to a pager used by the gangster. Days after the bloodbath, says Moore, Sal gave her a gun, subsequently revealing that Bobby had had it with him at the crime scene. "When he later ordered her to get rid of it, she turned the weapon over to the RCMP, but asserted the gang she had thrown it into the Fraser River."

Bobby remained free until his parole was revoked after he was caught driving on Sept. 28, 1990, while his license was under suspension. Today, he is behind bars, continuing his life sentence at Kent Institution, a maximum security prison 70 km east of Vancouver that he only six months after the RCMP withdrew Moore from her risky role as an informant, no new charges have been laid against him or three others closely involved in the hit. And although senior RCMP officials

have pursued more senior members of the organization, none of them outside Canada.

At least one individual linked to the killing spree has eluded police surveillance and gone underground. On May 31, 1986, Sylvain Malachuk, a Montreal-based engineer and driver dealer, was charged with trafficking for his role in the B.C. cocaine bust in September, 1985—the one prompted by the Montreal informant, Alberto's tip. Malachuk was scheduled to appear at a preliminary hearing next week, but he has not reported to the Moores, as required by his bail, since mid-February, and police suspect he has fled Canada.

confirmed Moore's role in the investigation to Martin's, a name would correct publicly in October to Moore in February, however, long Gary Bann thanked his undercover agent for "the important contribution you have made to our ongoing investigation."

In fact, the force has gone to great lengths to discourage media scrutiny of the murders and their aftermath. Investigators persuaded the Vancouver *Province*, for one, to withhold a story about Moore's undercover life for four months (the paper published an eight-page report last week).

Privately, police sources say that charges against gang members were postponed while investigators

The house ends in the investigation raise troubling questions—not least for Moore's young family. "I'm afraid they're going to have my Dad killed, and then they're going to have me killed," Moore says. "The RCMP told me that if I got on a plane back to Vancouver, I'd be dead 15 seconds after landing. All of those guys in the gang know what I did, and they're still walking the streets." In letters to both Justice Minister Rock and Solicitor General Herb Gray last November, and again in mid-April, Moore revealed her role as an RCMP agent. Noting that cartel members bent on retaliation would have little trouble targeting her incarcerated father, she pleaded with the Liberal minister to allow Sal Moore to join her in the witness program. For his protection, Moore was moved last week into the medium security Matsigen Institution. Meanwhile, Rock told Moore's that Justice officials are once again reviewing Moore's conviction and incarceration.

But Tami Moore is bitter and angry. "Rock has just put my family more in danger than they were at the beginning." Critics in other parties, meanwhile, accuse Rock of failing to take the family's safety seriously enough. "We know that prisons are not secure against violence," says NDP justice critic Chris Atwood. "Mr. Moore's life is in danger—they should treat this as a serious case and do something about it." The slowness of police and prosecutors to lay charges, and the refusal of the Liberal government to interfere on her father's behalf, leaves Tami Moore's ruling her decision to undergo the drug court and, ultimately, become an RCMP informant. If she had known what she was getting into, she says, she would never have done it. She is in hiding, in danger still—his danger—still legally married to Sal, where she describes contemptuously as "a real asshole." At night, she hunched by a door in it, she fearfully hides her children in bags. "Tupperware hampers from a provider who has been sent to kill them and her," Tami Moore says. "I'm a nightmare. It is a nightmare that, she knows, could easily come true."



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People

Edited by
BARBARA WICKENS

The country blues



Wright: 'It was a huge conker to swallow'

Canadian country singer **Michelle Wright** has had some stellar times. In 1991, she enjoyed a Top 30 hit with her song "Take It Like a Man," and the following year she won the Academy of Country Music award for top new female vocalist. But even though Wright, who is in the midst of a 30-date, cross-Canada tour, is so popular as ever with audiences at home, her U.S. recording career seems to have stalled. At the last minute, her American label pulled her 1995 album, *The River*, off shelves and sent her back to the studio for more tailoring. It was never released in the United States despite the fact it sold an impressive 300,000 copies in Canada. Her next disappointment came when U.S. country radio stations took a pass on her 1998 CD, *For Me It's You*. "It was a tough conker to swallow," says the husky-toned native of Memphis, Ont. "The hardest every excuse, from I was gone too long, to formats changing overnight." With her uncertain future in Nashville, where she now lives, Wright, 35, is concentrating on developing another facet of her career: this summer she will study acting in California. But she doesn't want to hang up her cowboy boots just yet. "Whenever happens," Wright says, "I will always work."

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Burke's law: progress is quirky

The only constant, it's often said, is change. And that is a fact of modern life that has served science writer **James Burke** well. As host of the *Connections* series—the third incarnation of which, *Connections*, started on May 5 on The Learning Channel—the London native has popularized a quirky take on scientific progress, based on the notion that technological advances by happenstance rather than by plan. The approach, Burke says, is more timely than ever, thanks largely to the growing use of the Internet. "People are more wired now—they expect to understand this connectivity we live with." Which is one reason that Burke, who writes a monthly column for *Scientific American* magazine, is a confessed "Poynter optimist" about the effects of technological change on society. "Frank, I'm optimistic," he says. "What else are you going to do—jump out a window?"



Joseph: *Goalies save*

A hot goalie keeps his cool

Goalie **Curtis Joseph** celebrated his 20th birthday last week by leading the Edmonton Oilers to the second round of the NHL playoffs against Colorado. Joseph led the favored Dallas Stars, particularly in overtime of the deciding Game 7 when he miraculously blocked a sure goal by Stars captain Joe Nieuwendyk, just 24 seconds later. Todd Marchant scored the Oilers' game-winner. Joseph, a native of Kenosha, Ont., was modest about his contribution, but his coach raved. "Dallas was just great tonight," Ron Low said afterward. "But Curtis was better."



Ellen's big night out

Who is gay comedian **Ellen DeGeneres** (left) in love with? Last week, she attended a Washington party with *Will & Grace* star **Tim Allen**. *Media*, *Entertainment*.

Playing to his strong suit

Fred Gitlin was a typical university student except for one thing: he played bridge. In fact, Gitlin was so taken with the game that he dropped out of the University of Toronto computer science program in 1986 to work for a computer software company and concentrate even more on cards. Today, Gitlin's passion is paying off. His recreational bridge software, *Bridge Master*, is receiving accolades from around the globe. It was impressed master bridge player and Microsoft founder **Bill Gates** that he hired the dropout as a consultant in 1993. Now, the Toronto-based Gitlin, 32, is proving himself for the biggest money tournament in the world, the \$1.4-million *Casino* Invitational this week in Las Vegas, Nev. But building aficionados take note: it takes a long time to build a bridge master. "I was into computers and Rubik's Cube and stuff like that," notes Gitlin. "I like geeky kinds of things. And sure enough, I liked bridge and I really spent the next 15 years or so doing bridge to one level or another."

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The ABCs of electioneering

He has just finished a second-year political science course in a Canadian government at the University of Western Ontario. So Michael Rubinoff knows a thing or two about election campaigns. But losing babies? That, he is learning on the job. The 20-year-old Rubinoff is the country's only candidate for the Education Party, backed by several Western students earlier this year. According to Rubinoff, students are fed up with the Clinton government, which he says has failed to deliver an area ranging from youth unemployment—now hovering at almost 17 per cent—to research funding and student aid. To address those concerns, an Education Party government would create a Canada education act to set national standards similar to those in the Canada Health Act. And like the Liberals, the party has produced its own book of promises. "The ABC's of Canada's Future: A Trailbook for Change," which Rubinoff has been handing out in door-to-door visits across the riding of London North Centre. "Now that I've put away one set of textbooks," says the candidate, "I can concentrate on this one."



Rubinoff fell up with education, with fight to deliver.

PHOTOGRAPH BY J. L. L.

CRASH COURSE IN NOSTALGIA

The ones they are a-changing at Dalhousie University in Halifax. This September, *American rock 'n' roll legend* Bob Dylan will join fellow poets William Shakespeare and James Joyce as the focus of a full-credit course in the department of English. Called *Topics in Cultural Studies*, Bob Dylan and Literature of the Sixties, English 2250W will explore the crooner's songs as well as the work of the writers and poets who influenced him. Among the required readings: Allen Ginsberg's *Howl*, a 1955 collection of poetry that looks at social and political repression in America; the *Flow over the Gables* novel, author Ken Kesey's tale of a persecuted psychiatric patient; and the writings of Black American iconoclasts Angela Davis and James Baldwin. "I think the key point is that Dylan has grown over the past 30 years," says course professor Andy Wainwright. Although more recent tunes like *Political World* may not be as familiar to many people as the Dylan classics *Blowin' in the Wind* and *Like a Rolling Stone*, Wainwright insists that the musician has held fast to a vision of "human love and love of God as vital antidotes to violence and spiritual malaise." Such as.

An 11-day red-marker marathon

In mid-March, 140,000 Grade 5 students across Ontario underwent a grueling, 10-day test of their reading, writing and mathematics skills. Now, another marathon is about to begin. This week, an army of 1,800 teachers descends on Toronto, where it will spend 11 days attempting to mark the marks at the city's National Trade Centre. Before getting out their red pens, teachers will be briefed for two days by officials from the Ontario Education Quality and Accountability Office. Created by a special act of the legislature last year, its mandate is to develop annual, provincewide tests of student

achievement. While many parents and teachers have questioned the value of such standardized tests, and whether they were worth the anxiety they created for students, the chief executive officer of the EQAO, Jean Green, defends the exercise. Noting that the tests included writing samples and creative activities, she insists they are "a window on how kids are actually thinking and solving problems." In any case, Ontario appears determined to move full-scale ahead on the testing front. This week, 55,000 randomly chosen Grade 6 students will begin writing their own eight-day tests.

A holy war on school cuts

It was a victory for the separation of church and state—and, it seemed, a perfect opportunity for religious leaders to battle with their political foes one more time. Last last month, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and Newfoundland Premier Brian Toller signed an amendment to the Canadian Constitution, taking control of public education out of the hands of seven religious denominations and transferring it to secular school boards. But only hours after that historic handshake, leaders of the Pentecostal Assemblies and the Roman Catholic Church announced their intention to take the province to court. Their argument: the government had violated the spirit of the amendment before it was even signed by announcing the demise of several highly enrolled schools. Said Pentecostal Assemblies spokesman Melvin Rogstad: "While citizens were expected, parents have welcomed decisions by boards to eliminate some of the most viable schools." Still, it appears almost certain that at least some Newfoundland schools will soon be closing their doors. Responding to provincial cuts of \$25 million, administrators recently announced that 468 teachers will be laid off at the end of the current school year, and next week sent out pink slips to 200 more. High time for some divine intervention.

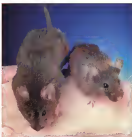
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SUPERMOUSE: In an experiment with potential implications for the treatment of muscular dystrophy and other muscle-wasting diseases, scientists at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore have induced mice to grow two to three times as much muscle as normal mice. The researchers created a strain of mighty mice by erasing a newly discovered gene associated with growth suppression from the rodents' genetic code.

Grading health care

The Liberal party seems to have had a finger placed strategically on the pulse of the nation when it promised last week to restore \$6.5 billion to health and social program spending over the next four years. The Angus Reid Group has released a poll showing that spending cutbacks could be an important consideration in the campaign for the June 2 federal election. Its findings suggest that, over the past year, the number of Canadians who believe that spending cuts have had an adverse effect on health care has increased to 68 per cent from 58 per cent. The poll, conducted in March for the Canadian Medical Association, also found that of 1,525 Canadians consulted:

- 68 per cent said waiting times in hospital emergency departments have increased in the past couple of years, up from 54 per cent a year earlier
- 65 per cent said waiting times for surgery are longer, compared with 53 per cent in 2006
- 48 per cent said it was more difficult to get appointments with specialists, up from 40 per cent a year earlier
- 19 per cent said it has become harder to gain access to their own family doctor, compared to 14 per cent in 2006

"Generally, the results indicate that Canadians think health care is getting worse, not better," said CMA president Dr. Judith Kazanietz. "Clearly the public is becoming increasingly aware that there are some very serious problems with the system."

A tougher AIDS virus

Is the virus that causes AIDS becoming more deadly? After studying 285 AIDS patients, researchers at Italy's University of Turin reported in the *British Medical Journal* that the disease appeared to develop more rapidly in people infected with the human immunodeficiency virus after 1989 than in those infected in the previous five years. Although most North American AIDS experts said they have seen no signs of HIV becoming more aggressive, Dr. John Gill, a University of Calgary infectious diseases specialist, noted there is "disturbing evidence" of the virus becoming resistant to some widely used drugs.

In another development, scientists from the U.S. National Institutes of Health contributed to the evidence that people infected with HIV should be treated early, before the immune system suffers severe damage. Writing in the journal *AIDS Medicine*, they said the findings that fight the virus do not appear to restore the body's full array of disease-fighting cells. Another American team reported in the same journal that chimpanzees infected with massive amounts of HIV remained disease-free for more than a year after receiving a vaccine engineered from the virus's genetic material. It was too soon to tell if such a vaccine could be effective in humans.

Infant pain relief

An anesthetic cream developed for people who fear needles provides significant pain relief in the pain of circumcision with no adverse reactions, according to a Canadian study published in *The New England Journal of Medicine*. Recent research has shown that male newborns suffer considerable pain during circumcision and remember the experience for months afterwards. Doctors from two Toronto hospitals reported that babies who had the anesthetic cream Emla applied to their penises before circumcision cried less and had smaller increases in heart rate than babies who received no anesthetic. Doctors have avoided using injected anesthetics on newborn babies because of the risk of side-effects. An estimated 40 per cent of male babies born in Canada are circumcised.

Tobacco tactics

Canadian tobacco distributors began covering billboard advertising and removing promotional materials from some 40,000 retail outlets after a ruling by Justice Canada's Greener of the Quebec Superior Court. She rejected a bid by three tobacco companies for an injunction to stop the federal government's law banning tobacco advertising from taking effect. Greener said the manufacturers failed to establish a greater public interest in suspending the law than in making it. Among other things, the law bans advertising on broadcast outlets, billboards, street kiosks and store displays.

In Washington, five Democratic senators asked Attorney General Janet Reno to sue U.S. cigarette makers to recover the costs of providing health care for smokers. Faced with a suit by 23 states, the two largest manufacturers are in negotiations to pay up to \$420 billion over 25 years in return for immunity from further court action.

Alzheimer's genes

Researchers associated with a biotechnology company in San Diego say they have found defects in two genes that may be associated with 60 to 70 per cent of cases of Alzheimer's disease. Dr. W. Dennis Parker Jr. of the University of Virginia Medical Center in Charlottesville, who led the research in collaboration with Molecular Inc., reported in a study that genes regulating metabolism, the cellular components that generate the energy needed to maintain life.

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Media



Small but dogged

The first Battle of Stoney Creek, one of the bloodiest in the secession War of 1812, was over in a matter of hours, and casualties on both sides were heavy. The second battle has been brewing up in the Hamilton-area city of 52,000 for the past four years, but so far the only casualties have been inflicted by angry words.

On one side is the Stoney Creek News, a Jersey, Southam-owned, free weekly newspaper. On the other is Hamilton-based Philip Environmental Inc., North America's largest waste-management company. The issue: Philip's huge waste dump on the Niagara Escarpment, which the News says may be dangerous but the company swears is safe.

In mid-April, the tiny paper's adpages paid off, it became one of five nominees for the coveted McInerney Award for public service journalism. And last week, when the judges picked The Toronto Star instead, News editor Stephen Beeson and reporter Richard Lettner were philosophical. Said Lettner: "Just getting nominated was a bonus."

The garbage war has polarized the community, inspired municipal and provincial politicians, ignited threats of lawsuits and led to the formation of an anti-dumping citizens' group called Stoney Creek Residents Against Pollution (SCRAP). At the heart of the battle is the dump site itself—a 15-million-gallon quarry about the size of 40 football fields. A Philip subsidiary called Taro Aggregates Ltd. plans to fill the hole

with 30 million tonnes of what the Ontario environment ministry has described as solid, non-hazardous industrial waste. But opponents of the project want reassurance. Says the 58-year-old, Yorkshire-born Beeson: "It is, after all, a hell of a big hole."

And it has generated a controversy to match. As early as 1994, following a series of articles about plans for the dump site, the News badgered the city for failing to declare itself one way or the other. "They finally did set up a committee," says Lettner, 37, a Hamilton resident, "but it held its meetings behind closed doors." From then on, the newspaper found itself at war with the city. Taro and the province

(which approved the plan last July without public hearings because the project had to call government support). "We had some Taro people come in here and yell at us," says Lettner. Then, he adds, threatened to sue him and the paper "if I wrote another word on the issue." But he pushed on, writing about the threat to the Escarpment and property values, and about the impact of tons of waste on the hole's fractured limestone.

Although Taro has not sued, it has continued to fight back, ensuring that no official body challenged its own environmental assessment, that it will line the hole with plastic strong enough to contain any leaking chemical wastes, that Lettner is a back-slash-based environmentalist bent on destroying the project. "We were often concerned



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WHAT MATTERS TO CANADIANS

MEDIA

about the nature and quality of the reporting," says Taro general manager John Fisher, a 35-year-old geologist. "We even bought space in the newspaper and wrote around stories to try to get some balance." The company, he says, complied with every step in "the exhaustive planning process" required by provincial law and even gave several hundred thousand dollars to a citizens committee so it could hire its own legal and technical experts to study Taro's plans.

In 1996, the CBC's *50th* issue did a program on the enterprise, and Taro subsequently sued researcher Paul Polansky for \$12 million for defamatory comments he allegedly made about Philip. Polansky has launched a separate suit for \$7.5 million. Both lawsuits are still pending.

It is a fostering community squabble with no end in sight. At the end of April, the *News* reported that SCIMP chairman Brad Clark had obtained city council documents from Ontario's privacy commissioner that supposedly disclosed irregularities in the city's handling of the project. "This is the biggest scandal in the history of Stoney Creek," the *News* quoted him as saying. Retired Mayor Anne Deary "Why dig up things we can't now change? Like, let's move on."

For Bevercroft and Letter, the Metherell nomination was a watershed. Bevercroft says he entered the *News* in the competition only because "a lot of people said we should, so I thought, 'Well, it's the least we can do.' So then we sort of forgot about it. But this is incredible, this is wonderful. We feel we've been acknowledged." As for Letter, he says he has felt "a sense of vindication. We have taken a lot of abuse from politicians, from the company, from other people about our coverage—that it was too much, and why were we making such a big deal of this issue. The fact all alonged these in favour of the project has been to try to marginalize those who were against it as having ulterior motives or political aspirations."

Two best-selling waste into the quarry last Dec. 8. Haze tracks rubble back and forth on the access roads, then wheels the machines in the lake below look like toys. People who live in the vicinity have voiced concerns about groundwater contamination. Methane gas was once discovered leaking from the ground around homes near a filled dump site across the road.

The bottom line, says Letter, "is that the dump will there and it will, by the way, the company's own admission, have a contamination cleanup of 200 years and 11,000 residents are going to have to live with it." If Taro is right and the layer holds, the whole debate will soon subside. If the liner does not hold, the consequences will confront thousands of people not yet born.

RAE CORRIE in Stoney Creek

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Films

Bruce vs. the blob

THE FIFTH ELEMENT

Directed by Luc Besson

It's a fitting choice, a grotesquely appropriate offering to launch the 50th anniversary of the Cannes Film Festival (May 7 to 18). True to the carnival spirit of the world's biggest annual media event, *The Fifth Element* is a chaotic, garish, feature-crash-out of a movie. And like *Cinema*, it tries to combine France's fetish for style with Hollywood's lust for excess. Conceived and directed by French filmmaker Luc Besson (*La Femme Nikita*), and costarring by French designer Jean-Paul Gaultier (the one who created Madonna's armpit business), *The Fifth Element* is an exercise in so-called haute couture, a mutated extravaganza that plunders clichés from *Star Wars*, *Star Trek*, *Shogun* and *Blade Runner*.

The script's convoluted premise defies literary Siffice to say that the story's ragged logic depends on the residue of a fifth element (aside from earth, air, fire and water)—a cancerous evil that strikes every five thousand years when a single drop opens in an Egyptian tomb. The action is set in the 23rd century. Bruce Willis stars as Korian Dallas, a retired soldier working as a cabbie, who gets drafted into saving the world after an alien babe named Milla Jovovich tells from a skyscraper and crashes through the roof of his flying taxi. Jovovich, played by ex-model Milla Jovovich, is a fugitive wild child in the tradition of Besson's *Nikita*, a martial arts whiz who does

backflips just like the android played by Daryl Hannah in *Blade Runner*. She has orange hair, green eyes, an impenetrable post and a wardrobe that seems to be all straps. Lurking in an indecipherable tongue. According to the film's byzantine plot, she happens to be the Supreme Being, a savior who holds the key to averting apocalypse—trust the French to defy a foreign, sensibly child, incomprehensible supermodel.

Willis, meanwhile, offers another version of the bullet-headed action hero that he has played so often. A music Gary Oldman, his head half-shaved in a *Hitterwage* band, turns it up as Zerk, a villain in cahoots with the cannibals upon which the movie is built to annihilate the Earth. In his lair, he leads some classical dignity to Corneille, a naked penis reminiscent of the Jedi patriarch in *Star Wars*. There

is also a menagerie of star-struck tropes: the bullet-headed action hero that he has played so often. A music Gary Oldman, his head half-shaved in a *Hitterwage* band, turns it up as Zerk, a villain in cahoots with the cannibals upon which the movie is built to annihilate the Earth. In his lair, he leads some classical dignity to Corneille, a naked penis reminiscent of the Jedi patriarch in *Star Wars*. There

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A LOVE CHILD FROM STALIN

CHILDREN OF THE REVOLUTION

Directed by Peter Dinklage

It certainly sounds intriguing—the indomitable Judy Davis plays a die-hard Communist who has a one-night stand with Joseph Stalin. If Mandy Patinkin, that raises his secret love child in Austria with an unwilling husband played by Oscar-winning actor Geoffrey Rush (Shrek). Despite the wild premise and talented cast, however, *Children of the Revolution* is strangely featureless. Perhaps the first sign that something is wrong is that Joan, the Stalinist camp follower played by Davis, is not just simple-minded and provincial, but quite stupid. And asking Judy Davis to play a dope is like asking Rob Lowe to play a rocket scientist.

But the whimsical story is fun for a while. In 1953, on the eve of the death, Stalin, portrayed as a wise-cracking pool, summons Joan to the Kremlin after being scolded by her aging fan mail. They have a brief but momentous fling, and she returns home pregnant. Joan promptly marries a dull but devoted sailor (Rush) while a Soviet double agent who spent a drunken night with her in Moscow (Gary Nardino) impersonates himself into their lives. As the years pass, the stubbornly Stalinist Joan is horrified to see her son, Joe (Richard Roxburgh), grow up to become a police-loving tyrant—and closer to his father's spirit than she is willing to admit.

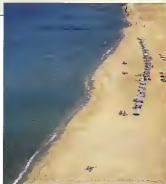
Missing his feature debut, Australian writer-director Peter Duncan brings tragedy and grace. The dramatic tone is about as coherent as a roomful of Trotskyist lectures. Credibility suffers. And in the end, *Children of the Revolution*, which reduces the decline of the Communist ideal to logistical schlock, seems too clever by half.

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Books

Poisoned to oblivion

A SCIENTIFIC ROMANCE

By Ronald Wright
(Knopf Canada, 212 pages, \$29.95)

It's Ronald Wright's new novel, *A Scientific Romance*, into a villain, in the entire future. Most of this futuristic fantasy is set in the year 2500, which is where its intrepid British hero, David Lambert, journeys in a time machine. This is the same contraption, it turns out, that H. G. Wells once wrote about. It seems that the machine was not only a literary invention, it was actually built and used. And when it suddenly materializes in a flash before Lambert, a scientist and specialist in Victorian machinery, he sees a potential solution for his problem. Lambert has recently been diagnosed with the fatal Creutzfeldt-Jakob (mad cow) disease, and assumes that the extinction of



Wright
laughing
before
publication

the future will have discovered a cure. But his confidence is misplaced. When Lambert arrives in the London of 2500, the place is as troglodyte as Brazil, and entirely devoid of human beings. It looks as if mankind's insolent war with the environment has reaped the natural justice it deserved. Global warming, pollution, overpopulation and plagues have apparently rid the planet of what Lambert calls "the biggest losers since the dinosaurs."

Best known as a travel writer (*Ocean of Glass*, *The Way of Zen*), the English-born, Port Hope, Ont.-based Wright has delivered a first novel that summons even its own glaring flaws. Except for Lambert, Wright's characterizations are

or escape cinematic. Both the hero's lover, Aida, and his best friend, Bird—the novel takes the form of letters from the future to these two—are as cardboard and insubstantial as the hipsters portrayed in some glossy fashion mag. Wright also includes a lot of reminiscences from Lambert's youth, which often enough in themselves, but for too often a distraction from his story.

In other words, *A Scientific Romance* could easily have flopped. But the book is saved by its strong central plot, a certain very human and a powerful visionary core. Wright offers an unforgettable view of an England where jungle and mega birds have colonized the ruined Palladian buildings, and deformed fish and mammals still endure the evil spell of civilization's long-bred toxins. Lambert also discovers the evidence of civil war, mass euthanasia and widespread slavery and torture. It seems that mankind went anything but gently in to its final night. Much has been written about the dangers of the modern world's prodigious wastes. But few writers have imagined the future with such compelling and tragic urgency.

JOHN REMBOSKE

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Music

Rural rhapsodies

Six pianists make beautiful music in the boonies

Internationally acclaimed concert pianist Janina Fialkowska sweeps her arms to haunting *Lyric Piece* by Norwegian composer Edvard Grieg. "You're playing the same stuff I play," she enthuses as 15-year-old Peter Jones, his eyes fierce with concentration, moves his fingers across the keys of an ebony grand. Jones and three other piano students from British Columbia's Sunshine

her roots. In 1994, driven by cultural pride and troubled by the dearth of opportunities, rural Canadians have to hear live classical performances, Fialkowska founded Piano Six, a unique nonprofit touring partnership with five other leading Canadian pianists: Jon Kimura Parker, Angela Hewitt, Marc-André Hatzke, Angela Cheng and André Landolt.

They each pledged 10 days a year out of their busy touring and recording schedules for an entire decade to visit uninsured Cana-

Flattewaka (right) with student Miles Lee. Intense marine plants

owned by the local Indian band, they are attending a master class with one of Canada's foremost classical artists: "Here, play the horn," Fialkowska interjects, methodically dissecting Jones's performance: "Don't get bogged down." Then, balancing her criticism with an equal measure of praise, she adds: "You'll be fine because you have a very nice sound. That's half the battle."

Encouraging young pianists has become something of a personal crusade for Montreal native Flatau, himself discovered in 1974 by the late piano legend Arthur Schnabel, during the prestigious international competition in Israel (bearing his name).

Since then, her masterful interpretations of Chopin and Liszt have made her a popular guest of top orchestras throughout North America and Europe. But the 46-year-old pianist, who now lives outside New York City near Weston, Conn., has remained true to

classroom artists and performers who rotate for only a fraction of their usual fees, which can run up to \$10,000 for a performance. Although Puno also charges \$1,500 per hour to cover costs, the musicians earn an honorarium of \$300 for what can be a long working day of master classes, workshops and educational school concerts, as well as a formal recital. "We just just can't get Canada out of our systems," says Philkowitz, pointing out first with the exception of Laplante, who recently moved to Toronto from New York, all the Puno St. artists currently live abroad. "Now, we all want to return—and to give something back."

Since the group's inaugural tour less than three years ago, Panto Six members have thrilled audiences in more than 125 communities in every province but Saskatchewan, which they hope to visit soon. They have also entertained more than 13,000 school

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1. *Journal of Management Studies*, 1996, 33, 1, 1-14.

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MUSIC

children. Among their far-flung stops: Carney Beach, Nfld., Chatham, Que., and Prince Rupert, B.C. And last fall, concerned about a possible shortage of pianos, Parker who lives in Muskoka's Upper West Side, even lugged a Roland synthesizer across the For North, where he entertained local children in his hotel. "It was one of the most fulfilling experiences of my life," says the 30-year-old pianist. "When you see kids' faces light up and you see that they are excited, that makes it."

But like other arts organizations, Piano Soc is beginning to feel the financial pinch. Although they have received some money from the Touring Office of the Canada Council, Flakowski and several of her 15 and 20 colleagues—as well as project co-ordinator Jane Cohen—have personally had to bear a portion of the costs of touring. And without additional funding, Flakowski says, her dream may have to be deferred. "I don't think that any of us will ever let this go out," she vows. "But we will probably have to cut back—we are already stretched to the limits."

That could well be a loss for tiny communities like Sechart (population 7,000), which Flakowski recently visited as part of Piano Soc's last tour of the season before resuming engagements next fall. Tracy Thompson, a 18-year-old piano student hoping to major in music at the University of British Columbia, drove nearly an hour from her home in Peterborough to attend the Raven's Cry master class. "I got a lot out of it," says Thompson, whose performance at the difficult third movement of Mozart's Sonata K. 332 was enthusiastically critiqued by Flakowski. "I'm happy you grew so much!" said Flakowski, who also teaches piano. Valerie Baxter, who also teaches piano, says, "This is just a wonderful opportunity for the students, a chance for them to perform and get a lesson from somebody in a place like this that they never dream of normally having."

Later that same evening, about 150 locals flocked to the Raven's Cry Theatre for an intimate two-hour Flakowski recital. "People like her would normally be extremely expensive—and way beyond the budget of a small presenter like us," event organizer Allan Crane, president of The Coast North Society, noted before the show. Concertgoers, who paid only \$15 for their tickets, showed their appreciation of the program, which included works by Haydn and Chopin—as well as five *Lyric Pieces* by Grieg—by giving Flakowski a standing ovation. Later, at an informal reception in the theatre lobby, decorated with outdoor art, the standing pianist was the talk of the town. "I'm in a class," said local piano teacher and pianist Michaela Wrona, of Flakowski's performance. "It is such a joy to hear this calibre of musician here."

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Fallan Fotheringham



Snogging in the parks with Tony Blair

On election day in London, it was the most blood-soaked day of England, the first day at night when the sun shone and everyone took their clothes off.

When the (dead) winter finally ends, when spring and sun suddenly arrive on one day, the natives flee to the famous "lairs of London"—the wonderfully named, heated parks in the guts of the city: Hyde Park, Green Park, St. James's Park, Blackington Palace, and St. James's Park.

There, in the warm sunshine, grown men strip down to their bare briefs and try to retain their sticky white bodies. Since the grumpy young, unlike North Americans, cannot afford cars and have to live with their parents, the only place to snuggle in public parks. It leads to the celebrated chant: "Hoary, hoary, the first of May Outdoor snogging starts today." Another law to close one's eyes, such is the embarrassment: It was the day when every young, and not so young, female in London shuddered her way home.

This election day, this historic day, coincided with the sun and the advent of spring in appropriate fashion. Old Britain, Great Britain, decided to take a new direction and did it with a vengeance. A wise friend has written in his country's politics, passed that there is a time and a tide—no quote necessary—in the affairs of a nation.

There was a time when Charles Blair was the ideal man for the job—whipping the Boche—and when he had done it, the greatest of British public figures had an office in the north of the war was over in 1945 and installed a Labour government that installed the welfare state. There was a time when Maggie Thatcher, he pointed out, was the right person for her right time.

That's over, she went too far, and now in the right time for Tony Blair, the Bill Clinton clone who is the youngest prime minister in two centuries and who has humiliated the Tories into their worst loss since 1832.

Blair is an interesting case, as charming as Clinton but without the brain power. When he became Labour leader in 1994, a senior Tory allowed: "If he's as good as he looks then we've got trouble." He's not as good as he looks, but that doesn't matter. As the first goes, he's better getting than talking. Rather like Jimmy Carter.



It's why the skewed Labour spin doctors, driving the by now standard TV leadership debates in any civilized country, refused to put the challenger Blair up against the mouthiest Major: "Over my dead body," said his chief back.

He's "Phoney Tony," "Tony Blair," "The sixth Spice Girl." A highly reporter describes him in a quality paper: "From the back, in his well-cut tailored suit, he looked as he presided over a meeting, but in an enthusiastic undertone who's just been told that he was about to inherit the family business and was eager to introduce innovative marketing techniques."

As with Bill, as with Hillary, he's married to a lawyer who's tougher and brighter than he is. His No. 2, Gordon Brown, who will be chancellor of the exchequer, is tougher and brighter than he is. Brown, at 36, topped his class at Edinburgh University. He has a PhD in philosophy. An academic, he heard his communications skills in a TV journalist.

John Smith, the beloved Labour leader before he died too soon of a heart attack, had groomed Brown as his successor. At his death, Blair took Brown to a main-to-main dinner at the Grosvenor restaurant in his north London riding of Kingston and told him that he was going to step aside and would go for the leadership.

Those who have the quiet arrogance of someone who knows how much power he is, know that he didn't have Blair's grace, his "Spice Girl" appeal. He sits beside Blair at news conferences, the look of Britain on his face, knowing he should be where the other guy is. He is not far.

What is even more a guarantee to the older-old Brown—losing at his intellectual inferior, who runs 46 this week—is that his chances of succeeding his boss (barring a car accident) are nil. Those massive 499 seats ensure that Tony Blair can last at least two terms.

The Tony worries are even worse than Brown's. In the past, Blair has talked about introducing proportional representation—rather than the outdated first-past-the-post system—for election to the Member of Parliament, Britain, Canada and the United States are predicated the sole model is obvious stick in the middle. The changes would mean that it might be virtually impossible for the Tories ever to return to office on their own.

The Cooper voters, who campaigned against devolution for using Scotland and could never solve the Northern Ireland problem, now don't have a seat outside England proper—Wales is also hostile voting territory.

Bill and Hillary will be happy. Although Phoney Tony tries to deny it, the Clintons have sent their operatives here to advise, constructing a slick media-manipulating Labour machine never seen before in British politics. Just as the Rep/Mexican taught Conservatives in Canada and Britain their winning techniques, the Democrats have instructed the Blair people in the fledgling necessary in tele-politics.



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